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The Journal of

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ROGER PEARSON, *General Editor*

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THE STRATEGIC BALANCE IS TIPPING

By Richard T. Ackley

The administration's strategic foreign policy goal is the preservation of peace through preparedness and arms control. Its major strategic defense policy task is deterring a nuclear attack on the U.S. or its allies. Since it is axiomatic that U.S. strategic forces support defense policy, and defense policy supports foreign policy, it follows that strategic forces and program must be structured to balance or offset the perceived (Soviet) strategic threat – if a cohesive policy-to-force relationship is to be maintained. The purpose of this essay, then, is to argue there is a growing imbalance between U.S. and Soviet strategic forces and programs that even if perceived, is receiving an inadequate American response for national security in the 1980s. This imbalance threatens the stabilizing linkage between U.S. strategic force posture and declared defense and foreign policy goals, consequently making deterrence of war or the maintenance of peace less secure.

Over a year ago President Carter established five goals for U.S. foreign policy in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The last goal dealt with the strategic balance, namely, to

– preserve peace through preparedness and arms control. (1)

And, in the *Department of Defense Annual Report Fiscal Year 1979*, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown established the following strategic force objectives:

– Deter a strategic nuclear attack on the United States.

– Deter nuclear attacks on our allies, or other nations the security of which is deemed essential to the U.S., or on our forces overseas.

– Keep the U.S. and its allies free from any coercion and intimidation that could result from perceptions of an overall imbalance or particular asymmetries in nuclear forces. (2)

The overall concept is one of strategic stability. This means no nation will perceive an advantage in attacking another at the strategic level. Such a situation presently exists, according to administration sources, because the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are at rough strategic equivalence. (3)

Our argument, then, is one of perception. The administration

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claims rough equivalence exists. Opponents argue that even if rough equivalence exists today, the strategic gap between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. is widening and will reach a dangerous degree some time in the early 1980s. Furthermore, the administration is placing too much emphasis on strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) and too little on preparedness (new programs). Opponents would argue the first goal of our strategic forces should be to deter the use of, or the credible threat to use, strategic weapons in world politics. And secondly, if deterrence fails, our strategic forces should be capable of war fighting and war termination on terms not unfavorable to the U.S.A.

The strategic argument is neither to obtain clear strategic superiority nor an unequivalent first strike disarming attack capability, but rather to maintain offsetting capabilities or essential equivalence. This requires restructuring U.S. strategic forces and programs in accordance with shifts, trends, and momentum in Soviet strategic forces. Strategic (crisis) stability, it should be remembered, is the key. This opposition argument is neither intended to threaten nor forecast the imminence of a Soviet strategic attack on the U.S. The evidence, it is submitted, is neutral and about even in regard to Soviet intentions – that is, superiority for security, a strategic attack, or political intimidation. The preference, in the final analysis, is an individual choice probably having little or no relation to strategic thinking in the Kremlin. It is, after all, realistic capabilities with which we must deal; intentions are vague at best, and can change rapidly with time.

If one is to challenge the administration's satisfaction with rough equivalence, then an agreeable starting point might be with the SALT-I accords. To "enhance the security of both sides" was, after all, the basis for Congressional approval of the 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty and the Interim Agreement on Strategic Offensive Arms. If on this basis we can accept the strategic balance in May of 1972 as one of essential or at least rough equivalence, then a review of major force and program changes since that time ought to lend some insight into the state of the balance today and the trend of the future.

The 1972 Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty provided numerical parity for both sides; however, the Interim Agreement for Strategic Offensive Arms did not. Asymmetry in the mix and capabilities of weapon systems of both sides was given as an

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Figure 1

Historic Changes in Launcher/Long-Range Bomber Strength

	1969	1970	1971	1972	SAL Ceiling	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
USA										
ICBM	1054	1054	1054	1054	1054 (1000)	1054	1054	1054	1054	1054
SLBM	656	656	656	656	656 (710) 44 SSBN Max.	656	656	656	656	656
Total	1710	1710	1710	1710	1710 (1710)	1710	1710	1710	1710	1710
L-R Bombers*	560	550	505	455	N/A	442	437	432	387	373
Total	2270	2260	2215	2165	N/A	2152	2147	2142	2097	2083
USSR										
ICBM	1028	1299	1513	1527	1618 (1409)	1527	1575	1618	1527	1477
SLBM	196	304	448	500	740 (950) 62 SSBN Max.	628	720	784	845	909
Total	1224	1603	1961	2027	2358 (2359)	2155	2295	2402	2372	2386
L-R Bombers*	145	145	145	140	N/A	140	140	135	135	135
Total	1369	1748	2106	2167	N/A	2295	2435	2537	2507	2521

* Not in SAL-1 accords

Source: *The Military Balance 1977-1978* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1977), p. 80.

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explanation. Nonetheless, the Nixon administration argued the accords were sound and in general provided a fair and equitable relationship. From Fig. 1 it can be noted that only intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) launchers and submarine launched ballistic missile (SLBM) launchers were considered in the offensive arms agreement. The 1972 ICBM/SLBM central strategic force levels revealed a numerical total of 1,710 for the U.S. and 2,027 for the USSR. However, former presidential advisor for national-security affairs, Henry Kissinger, argued if one were to consider long-range bombers (not part of the agreement), the totals for offensive delivery systems were virtually the same: 2,165 to 2,167. However, the 1972 five-year Interim Agreement provided the USSR with a potential 38% advantage in launcher totals. This numerical advantage was to be compensated for by superior American technology. Asymmetries in systems outside the accords (Fig. 2) were believed to be offsetting.

Figure 2

Strategic Capable Forces NOT in SAL-1

	Advantage = +	
	Soviet Union	*U.S.A.*
Medium Bombers	+	
Air Defense	+	
Submarine Launched Cruise Missile	+	
Med./Int. Range Ballistic Missiles	+	
Diesel Propelled Ballistic Missile Subs	+	
MIRV		+
Forward (Theater Nuclear) Based Systems		+
Heavy Bombers		+

What has happened to the strategic balance since the May 1972 Strategic Arms Limitations (SAL) accords? Perhaps the best way to grasp the overall strategic thrust of U.S. and Soviet offensive force programs is to assess each leg of the TRIAD (ICBMs, SLBMs, and manned bombers) in turn.

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ICBMs

U.S. force levels have remained constant since 1972 at 1,054. Since SALT 1, the U.S. has not completed or deployed one single new strategic offensive weapon system. Silos have been hardened, a more rapid retargeting capability has been backfitted into Minuteman, (4) and a new higher yield, more accurate, RV is being developed for Minuteman. (5) Nevertheless, Minuteman III production was cancelled and the follow-on mobile missile "X" (MX) (6) was delayed for another year. This would mean the MX timetable for an Initial Operational Capability (IOC) has slipped from 1983 to early 1987, if in fact further delays are not forthcoming.

The Soviets, on the other hand, have decreased their numbers of ICBMs from 1,527 in 1972 to 1,477 in 1977. This decrease represents the dismantling of older, less capable systems for new SLBMs in accordance with the terms of the 1972 SAL agreements. Additionally, in the summer of 1973, the Soviets began replacing older ICBMs with new (fourth generation) ICBMs, the SS-17, -18, and -19 (7) at the rate of about 125-150 a year. All of these new missiles were tested with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs), and all have a greater accuracy than their predecessors. The MIRV capability and improved accuracy (CEP) (8) endanger the survivability of American ICBMs. Certainly, by the early 1980s the U.S.S.R. will have some 5,000 reentry Vehicles (RVs), and about 820 SS-18s and -19s with CEPs under 1,000 feet. The question is no longer will U.S. ICBMs become vulnerable, but when in the early 1980s will they be vulnerable? If this isn't enough, a new fifth generation of ICBM is nearing the stage of development when it will be flight tested. (9)

Additionally, the Soviets have developed but (to our knowledge) not deployed a new mobile SS-16 ICBM. This missile type would defy U.S. pretargeting or, for that matter, verification of the numbers actually deployed and capable of being reloaded (refired).

SLBMs

U.S. force levels have remained constant since 1972 at 656 launchers in 44 nuclear-powered ballistic-missile submarines (SSBNs). Since SALT-1, however, the U.S. has developed but NOT deployed both a new SSBN and SLBM. The submarine

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is the TRIDENT, the SSBN-726-class carrying 24 new SLBMs. The construction rate of TRIDENT is two every three years, with the first unit reaching an IOC in 1981. The new SLBM is the C-4 or Trident-I missile. This SLBM will have a 1,000 - 1,500 foot CEP, 8 x 100 k. t. MIRVs and a range of some 4,000 n. m.'s. This represents a considerable improvement over the Poseidon 10 x 50 k. t., 2,500 n. m. missile. The Trident-I missile will initially be backfit into 12 POSEIDON SSBNs beginning in FY-1980. Even further into the future is the TRIDENT II (D-5) SLBM. This missile is in the design stage with an IOC in the late 1980s. The Trident II will be about 6,000 n. m. missile with even greater accuracy than the Trident-I.

The current 31-ship POSEIDON force entered service between 1963 and 1967. This means that unless the 25 year extended maximum service life is exceeded, a significant reduction in SLBMs will occur in the late 1980s and early 1990s because POSEIDON SSBNs will be retired at a faster rate than new TRIDENT SSBNs will become operational. At the current TRIDENT building rate, the U.S. will reach a low level of 504 SLBMs in 1992 as compared to our current level of 656. Admittedly, the TRIDENT will be more capable than the POSEIDON; however, Soviet anti-submarine warfare (ASW) capabilities are increasing, thereby making the POSEIDON SSBN more vulnerable with time. And, in terms of strategic capability, the USSR has a 4,000 n.m. range missile at sea in a new class of SSBN now (10) -- some three years before the Trident-I's initial retrofit into the aging POSEIDON SSBNs.

In contrast, the Soviet Union has increased its deployed SSBNs and SLBMs from 560 missile launchers in 61 submarines in 1972, to 909 missile launchers in 82 submarines in 1977. Since the signing of the SALT-1 accords, the USSR has completed the final units in a series of 34 Yankee-class SSBNs (similar to the U.S. POLARIS submarine), completed 14 new Delta I-class SSBNs, 12 new Delta II-class SSBNs and is building a new TYPHOON-class SSBN.

The first Delta I SSBN appeared in 1973. This submarine is equipped with 12 launch tubes for the SS-N-8 SLBM; a 4,000 n.m. missile (tested to 5,600 n.m. in November 1976) with stellar- inertial guidance for a small CEP (under 1,500 ft.). Within two years of the Delta I, the Delta II appeared. This

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SSBN is similar to the Delta I but has 16 rather than 12 launch tubes. In addition to the SS-N-8 missile, the USSR first tested the SS-NX-17 in 1975. This 2,400 n.m. missile has a post-boost vehicle, suggesting a MIRV capability. The SS-NX-17 is probably to be backfit into the 34 Yankee-class SSBNs. Additionally, the USSR has tested the SS-NX-18 4,600 n.m. missile MIRVed with three warheads. This missile is probably for the Delta classes of SSBNs.

In maintaining this momentum, a new class of SSBN – the TYPHOON – recently has been reported under construction with 20 to 24 launchers for a 6,000 n.m. MIRVed missile.

Manned Bombers

U.S. heavy bombers (B-52s) numbered 455 in 1972. This number was reduced to 373 by 1977. There are no U.S. strategic bombers in production nor are any currently planned. The B-1 manned penetrating bomber was cancelled by the administration in June 1977 without any request for reciprocity from the Soviets.

The administration plans to field a cruise missile on later versions of the B-52s. This missile is in the test and evaluation stage and is not expected to reach an initial operational capability until 1981. Concern has been expressed, however, that SALT II proposals contain restrictions for cruise missile deployments and range. Range is indeed critical in that most high value Soviet targets are hundreds, if not thousands of mile inland-whereas some 50% of the U.S. population lives within 100 miles of the sea coast.

Directly associated with the manned bomber is air defense. Despite the fact the Soviet strategic bomber force is growing, the U.S. has drawn down and continues to maintain continental air defense at a dangerously low level.

In comparison, the Soviet Union has dropped from 140 long-range bombers in 1972 to 135 in 1977. This however, is somewhat deceptive in that the BACKFIRE bomber – first appearing in 1974 – is not included in the above figures. Most defense specialists agree that the BACKFIRE-B bomber (equipped with a refueling probe) is a strategic bomber rather than the medium range bomber claimed by the Soviets. The BACKFIRE is being produced at the rate of about 40 per year. This means the Soviets could have over 400 operational

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strategic bombers some time in the early to mid-1980's. "For the first time, the Soviet Union will have more new strategic bombers than the U.S. has with its 20 year old B-52's – a fact as unprecedented as it is ominous."(11)

Additionally, there have been reports of a new Soviet air refueling tanker based on the IL-76 CANDID jet transport. Also, a new long-range bomber has been alluded to, that probably will appear sometime in the early 1980's. And, in the field of air defense, the Soviet Union continues to modernize its massive integrated system.

Related Considerations

Beyond strategic offensive forces there are at least two programs that warrant our attention: civil defense and anti-satellite systems. The USSR has spent large sums of money in a massive effort to provide evacuation, blast, and fallout protection for their military and civilian population. The U.S. has done next to nothing. In fact, a National Security Council study suggests a major Soviet nuclear attack on the U.S. might destroy 45% of our population. On the other hand, the Soviets claim they can protect 96% of their population. If true, this means Russian losses in a strategic exchange would be less than the 20 million casualties they suffered in World War II. In other words, the casualty exchange ratio could range between 10-40 Americans for each Soviet death.

Both the U.S. and the USSR employ satellites to provide reconnaissance and warning of a missile attack. The Soviets, however, have successfully tested several anti-satellite satellites (ASAT). Their ASAT is capable of either attacking or "blinding" American surveillance satellites – thereby denying the U.S. the earliest warning of a strategic missile attack. The U.S. is working on, but does not possess this capability now.

The momentum seen in Soviet strategic offensive force development since the 1972 SAL accords is mirrored in their overall defense spending. CIA, for example, estimates the USSR has devoted between 11 and 13% of its GNP to defense – this represents about twice the percentage spent by the U.S. The U.S. Department of Defense estimates between three and four percent per year increase in real term Soviet defense spending over the past 15 years. And, in basic agreement with DoD,

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The Brookings Institution estimates an average increase in Soviet defense spending of about three percent per year since 1960 in constant U.S. prices. In contrast, for a substantial portion of that same period (excluding the cost of military retired pay and of Vietnam) the U.S. base line budgets have declined. (See Fig. 3.) As a matter of fact, for FY-1979 the U.S. budgeted more dollars for military retired pay than for current American strategic forces!

An overall or net assessment of U.S. and Soviet strategic force programs and capabilities is not encouraging. At a time when the Soviets are pressing ahead with civil defense, the U.S. shut down its Minuteman missile production line. With Soviet deployment of a fourth and development of a fifth generation of ICBMs that will place our land-based strategic forces in jeopardy – the U.S. had delayed a production and deployment decision on the successor to Minuteman, the Missile "X". With Soviet deployment of the DELTA II submarine at the rate of 4-6 per year, and with the new TYPHOON-class submarine and three new SLBMs at or near IOC, the U.S. is moving ahead with the TRIDENT I missile, and the TRIDENT submarine. However, the submarine is only being built at the rate of 1½ SSBNs per year. Additionally, with Soviet series production of the BACKFIRE bomber, and probable production of a new refueling tanker and long-ranger bomber, the U.S. cancelled its B-1 with no plans for a future manned penetrating bomber. The U.S. cruise missile program is moving ahead but fears exist that it will suffer basing and range limitations in SALT II. And, in sensors for outer space, the Soviets have an ASAT capability that could endanger our early warning of a hostile missile launch and the U.S. does not have an offsetting system.

All in all, it appears the traditional American TRIAD for strategic defense will be degraded for the 1980's: ICBM forces will be vulnerable, the SLBM force will be old, and manned bombers will be tired if not nearly obsolete. Even by the most cautious estimates, the USSR will have more capable strategic offensive forces in the early 1980's than will the U.S.

SALT

The question arises – if our strategic programs seem deficient in effecting preparedness, is SALT II likely to satisfy our security needs? First of all, SALT has a primary objective of control-

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ling and reducing strategic armaments as a factor in international politics through equitable and verifiable arms control agreements. Equitable and verifiable are the key concepts, and therein lie some of our problems. A SALT agreement may not be difficult to negotiate; however, an equitable and verifiable one can be another matter.

Without doubt, the Carter administration is committed to a SALT agreement. In fact, as recent as June 23, 1978 President Carter stated at Fort Worth, Texas, "I'm determined to have a SALT agreement with the Soviet Union without unwarranted delay. We're making good progress." (12) The real problem now is trying to make an agreement equitable in the absence of forward looking American strategic programs. For example, an equitable agreement would have to prevent U.S. land-based strategic forces from becoming vulnerable – since the U.S. is not threatening Soviet land-based forces with our present inventory or oncoming programs. This, the author would submit, is an unlikely event.

In all fairness, one must note that President Carter's March 1977 arms control proposals would have greatly reduced the Soviet threat to U.S. land-based nuclear missiles. (13) The Soviets, however, dismissed these proposals straight-away as they would have required a reduction of existing Soviet forces as well as a curtailment in their ongoing programs. SALT to date has not prevented U.S. ICBMs from becoming vulnerable. Despite the desirability of talking the Soviets into being "good guys," reality seems to defy this effort. This point was supported very clearly by House Minority Leader John Rhodes when he stated:

> When the evidence is undeniable that an avowed adversary is committing itself to building a level of military capability unprecedented in history, we cannot lower our guard and pin our hope on talking them out of future confrontations. (14)

An opposite philosophy, but stated in another way, has been expressed by Chief Disarmament negotiator Paul Warnke. He believes preparation for a nuclear war could make that eventually all the more likely. (15) If Mr. Warnke prefers arms talks to defense programs, then he must be prepared to contend with the proposition that a lack of preparation for a nuclear war could be destabilizing, particularly in a crisis,

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and tempt an adversary to strike first.

In the long run, it appears prudent to pursue both strategic programs and arms limitations on an equal footing. This viewpoint was expressed by General David Jones when he was Chief of Staff, USAF.

> We in the Air Force have long supported a national policy of negotiated arms control, for we believe that reductions must be reciprocal to preserve the strategic balance. Our approach is to pursue a combination of negotiations and programs. We are strongly in favor of an equitable SALT agreement and we are keeping a close watch to insure the equal sign does not become blurred. But we also need to insure the modernization of our strategic forces. (16)

The tipping of the strategic balance has been long in coming and should be a surprise to no one. Early in 1975 warnings of growing Soviet military power, dismissed by critics as budgetary maneuvers, were supported by three analyses of the Soviet military buildup: (17)

> – The Dollar model. It would cost the U.S. 40% more than it spent on defense to pay for the Soviet Union's 1975 military machine.
>
> – The Ruble model. The Soviet Union spent 15% of its GNP on defense as compared to 6% for the U.S.
>
> – A Library of Congress study. A clear statement that "the qualitative military balance since 1965 had shifted substantially in favor of the Soviet Union."

Additionally, defense specialists such as Colin Gray, Paul Nitze, Edgar Ulsamer, and William R. Van Cleave have warned us over the years that the defense curves would cross and the U.S would fall behind unless we accelerated our strategic programs. Even the present Secretary of Defense and two former Secretaries of Defense have expressed concern over the Soviet strategic momentum. For example, in 1976 former Secretary of Defense Schlesinger wrote:

> Any edge in strategic forces previously possessed by the United States has already disappeared or is in the process of disappearing . . . . Nuclear parity continues to provide some restraint, but it is a weakened one. (18)

In 1977 former Secretary of Defense Laird wrote:

> But it is terribly clear that they (Soviets) remain

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> determined to gain decisive military superiority over the United States, and that in pursuit of this end they have been willing to dishonor their most fundamental agreements with us. (19)

Finally, in 1978 Secretary of Defense Brown wrote:

> Exactly why the Soviets are pushing so hard to improve their strategic nuclear capabilities is uncertain. What is certain is that we cannot ignore their efforts or assume that they are motivated by considerations either of altruism or of pure deterrence. (20)

Returning to the foreign policy goal of preparedness and arms control as approaches to peace, it appears the U.S. has no real leverage to entice the USSR into signing an equitable and verifiable arms control agreement. The Soviets simply are not prepared to give away their existing or projected strategic capabilities. Unfortunately, as long as the American people are led to believe the Soviets are genuinely interested in arms control, they will encourage the Administration to make concessions in the hope that the other side will reciprocate. (21)

Despite administration claims to the contrary, it appears the strategic balance is tipping in favor of the Soviets simply by American default in maintaining momentum for preparedness. (22) Certainly, the Soviet Union knows as well as we that the U.S. can outdevelop and outproduce them hands down — if we want. Recently, however, we have refused the challenge. It would be unforgivable, as Paul Nitze suggests, if the U.S. allows the Soviet Union to deter our deterrent because their third strike potential exceeds our second strike (retaliatory) capability.

Unless strategic programs such as the MX, TRIDENT, and a manned penetrating bomber are pursued with vigor to the point of clearly supporting our declared policy of deterrence and peace, the Soviet Union assuredly will surpass the U.S. in the 1980's and may well be tempted to threaten us. Correction will cost, but the expense is affordable. As Robert Legvold has suggested, "regrettable as it may be, the probable truth is that nuclear weapons, in some rough equilibrium, have kept the peace between us in the past and will be needed to keep it in the future." (23) In the nuclear age there are no friends or allies that can hold back the enemy until America is prepared.

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FOOTNOTES

(1) Cited in the Hon. John A. Hewitt, Jr., "Perspectives on FY 1979 Defense Budget," remarks before the Industrial Economics Seminar in San Francisco, Ca. on Mar. 1, 1978 in *Supplement to the Air Force Policy Letter for Commanders*, June 1978, pp. 16-17.

(2) Harold Brown, Department of *Defense Annual Report Fiscal Year 1979*, (Wash. D.C.: G.P.O., 1978) p. 45.

(3) By rough strategic equivalence Sec. Def. Brown means that ". . . a rough strategic nuclear equilibrium exists between the two superpowers at the present time. Neither country enjoys a military advantage; neither is in a position to exploit its nuclear capabilities for political ends. The situation is one of standoff or stalemate. Mutual strategic deterrence and essential equivalence are in effect." Brown, p. 4.

(4) All Minuteman silos have been hardened to sustain a high static over-pressure without causing damage to the encased missile or electronic equipment. Of course, hardening is down-graded as Soviet missile accuracy improves. Minuteman III have been equipped with Command Data Buffer permitting retargeting of a Minuteman III missile in 36 minutes and the entire force in less than 10 hours.

(5) The MK-12A reentry vehicle will be deployed on a portion of the Minuteman III force. It is designed to improve the existing MK-12's 170 KT, 700 foot CEP to 350 KT at 500 feet. See *Strategic Survey* 1977 (London: IISS, 1978) p. 116.

(6) The MX is a land- or air-mobile ICBM designed for an 8,000 mile range with 13 x 340 KT MIRVs with a CEP of about .05 n.m.

(7)

Type	Range (mi)	Warhead yield range	Throw-weight range (000 lb)	First deploy-ment	Number deployed (7/77)
SS-17	6,500	4xKT or 1x5 MT	6	1975	40
SS-18	7,500	15-25 MT or 8x MT	15-18	1975	50
SS-19	6,500	6xKT or 1x5 MT	7	1975	140

The Military Balance 1977-1978 (London: IISS, 1977) p. 77

(8) Circular Error Probable (CEP). The radius of a circle within which half of the missiles are expected to fall. An indicator of accuracy.

(9) Colin S. Gray, "The Strategic Force Triad: End of the Road?" *Foreign Affairs*, June, 1978, p. 776.

(10) For an analysis of Soviet SSBNs and SLBMs see: Richard T. Ackley, "The Wartime Role of Soviet SSBNs," *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, June 1978, pp. 34-42.

(11) John B. Breckinridge, "The Strategic Balance: 1979," *Journal of International Relations*, Spring, 1978, p. 5.

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(12) "Carter Defends Soviet Policy," *Sun-Telegram* (San Bernardino) June 24, 1978, p. A-3.

(13) *Presidency 1977* (Wash. D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., Apr. 1978) p. 15.

(14) "Rhodes claims SALT violations," *Sun-Telegram* (San Bernardino) Mar. 8, 1978, p. A-8.

(15) "U.S. Emphasizes Civil Defense," *Sun-Telegram* (San Bernardino) June 20, 1978, p. A-2.

(16) General David C. Jones, "An Air Force Outlook," remarks to the North Dakota Newspaper Ass'n. Convention; Minot, North Dakota; Apr. 21, 1978, in *Supplement to the Air Force Policy Letter for Commanders*, June 1978, p. 4.

(17) *Presidency 1976* (Wash. D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., April 1977) p. 14.

(18) James Schlesinger, "The Military Balance," *Newsweek*, May 31, 1976, p. 9.

(19) Melvin R. Laird, "Arms Control: The Russians Are Cheating!" *The Reader's Digest*, Dec. 1977, p. 100.

(20) Harold Brown, p. 5.

(21) Frederick M. Sallagar, "Salt Illusions," *Air Force*, June 1978, p. 43.

(22) On Aug. 29, 1978 the administration released a study prepared by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) that concludes U.S. nuclear forces can withstand a Soviet nuclear attack and retaliate with even greater destructive force throughout the mid-1980s. On the other hand, a report prepared by the Santa Fe Corporation of Arlington, Va. concluded that the Soviet Union was moving toward or already had reached superiority in 10 out of 13 strategic weapons systems. See: Daniel Southerland, "Great Debate Taking Shape on Arms Pact," *The Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 31, 1978, p. 1.

(23) Robert Legvold, "The Nature of Soviet Power," *Foreign Affairs*, Oct. 1977, p. 69.

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THE ENERGY CRISIS IN THE U.S.: AN ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

By James T. Bennett and Manuel H. Johnson

Since the oil embargo of late 1973 and early 1974, one of the most prominent issues in the United States has been the energy crisis. Because every economy except the most primitive is dependent upon energy for survival, adequate supplies of energy resources are essential. Much of the concern with the energy problem stems from the 1972 study by the Club of Rome entitled *The Limits to Growth*. This "project on the predicament of mankind" presented the following three conclusions (1):

1. If the present growth trends in world population, industrialization, pollution, food production, and resource depletion continue unchanged, the limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime within the next one hundred years. The most probable result will be a rather sudden and uncontrollable decline in both population and industrial capacity.
2. It is possible to alter these growth trends and to establish a condition of ecological and economic stability that is sustainable far into the future. The state of global equilibrium could be designed so that the basic material needs of each person on earth are satisfied and each person has an equal opportunity to realize his individual human potential.
3. If the world's people decide to strive for this second outcome rather than the first, the sooner they begin working to attain it, the greater will be their chances of success.

Essentially, the conclusions of the Club of Rome study have seriously disturbed the prevailing atmosphere of relative complacency regarding the inevitability of human progress and achievement. The response has been a demand for more bureaucracy and more government controls aimed at managing pollution, population, industrialization, and the overall utilization of the nation's natural resources.

The dislocations caused by the disruption in supply of imported crude oil during the oil embargo appeared to confirm

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the dismal future forecast by the report. In response to this "crisis," numerous public policy actions were taken by the U.S. Administration to provide for the long-term difficulties which were foreseen in the energy field. The management and planning for the energy sector was entrusted to the Department of Energy which, by fiscal year 1979, employed around 20,000 bureaucrats with a budget in excess of $10 billion. This department controls virtually every aspect of energy production, research and development, distribution, and marketing. The general consensus seems to be that extreme measures are needed and that substantial costs should be incurred in order to avert or at least prepare for the imminent depletion of the nation's energy resources.

In response to these developments it behooves us to examine the issues relating to the current "energy scarcity"; to ask ourselves what exactly we mean by "energy resources" and "scarcity"; and to look at the role of technology in the exploitation of energy resources; and finally to examine the empirical evidence for the supposed scarcity of energy resources.

Energy Resources: The Basic Issues

One of the most important issues related to the question of resource scarcity is "what constitutes a resource?" Over time, the resource base expands to include new commodities which technological change makes available. For example, in the early nineteenth century, whale oil was a primary energy resource for lighting and wood and coal were the principal sources of heat. Since that time, kerosene and gas have replaced whale oil for lighting and, in turn, these commodities have been replaced by electricity. More recently, the nuclear reactor has made uranium and other fissionable materials an important part of the nation's energy resources, although at the turn of the century, these materials were regarded as scientific curiosities. Clearly, technological progress plays a major role in answering the question "what constitutes a resource?" A major shortcoming of *The Limits to Growth* study is its assumption that technological change cannot significantly expand the resource base.

Technological change, in addition to creating new natural resources, can also make the extraction of commodities more

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cost efficient and thereby expand the quantity available. An excellent example is the production of aluminium through the electrolytic reduction of bauxite. Prior to the development of the electrolysis process, pure aluminium was one of the rarest metals in existence and more expensive than gold. As is well-known, aluminium is one of the most commonly used metals in manufacturing and in the home. Thus, technological change can alter significantly the potential supply of known resources, which are generally referred to as "reserves." At a given point in time, however, technology is assumed to be constant as is the estimated reserves.

There is considerable uncertainty in the estimation of the potential supply of a commodity. This uncertainty can be illustrated by estimates made for phosphorus. In 1971, the Institute of Ecology issued a report indicating that the known reserves of phosphorus might be exhausted in 60 to 90 years. (2) When, within a year, a revised version of the original report was issued, it was reported that the supply would last for between 90 and 130 years. (3) This second estimate, though considerably longer than the first, was still disquieting, for it seemed that the world was in immediate danger of running out of an important mineral resource. This finding was so disturbing that Frederick Wells of Resources for the Future undertook an analysis of both reports and concluded that the estimable reserves of phosphorus would last for at least 500 and perhaps as long as 100,000 years – a considerable extension of the period of grace. Further, Wells took into account potential reserves that are not currently economical to produce and inferred reserves including common rock deposits and estimated that ample phosphorus might be available for as long as 2 million years, depending upon prices, extraction costs, and the rate of growth in consumption. (4) Obviously, the public policy implications of a commodity which may be exhausted in 60 years differ substantially from that of an essential commodity which may be exhausted in 2 million years.

Even though a technology is available to extract a given resource, the technology will not be used unless it is economically feasible. An excellent example of this truism is the case of solar energy. Throughout the U.S., ample sunlight is available to assist in home heating and the heating of water.

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Relative to the cost of competing fuels, however, the cost of harnessing solar energy, until very recently, has generally been prohibitive. Thus, the existence of appropriate technology is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for increasing the resource stock. It is also necessary that economic conditions be favorable for technologically-feasible resources to be employed or for less economical deposits of known resources to be developed.

In the absence of government controls, economic conditions in resource markets are determined by the interaction of supply and demand. In fact, in economic terms, scarcity implies that, at a *given price*, the quantity of the resource supplied does not satisfy the demand. In an unregulated market, the price system operates to eliminate any shortages or surpluses. The existence of a shortage causes the price of the commodity to rise which operates in two ways to eliminate the shortage. On the demand side of the market, consumers react to the increase in price by consuming less, e.g., by lowering thermostats or substituting less costly alternatives. (5) On the supply side of the market, the price increase makes the exploitation of lower quality deposits economically feasible and the adoption of more expensive technology practical. Price increases then have the double-edged effect of reducing demand while increasing supply and, together, these effects eliminate shortages.

In the long-run, the operation of the market system will eliminate shortages. In the short-run, however, dislocations can occur because supply may not be highly responsive to price increases. Several years may be required to open a new coal mine or to construct a pipeline system to carry oil and natural gas from the point of production to the point of consumption. As discussed in the following section, it is unwise to confuse the problem of short-run dislocations with the issue of long-term scarcity.

Energy Scarcity: The Empirical Evidence

As discussed in the Introduction, public policy actions have been taken since the oil embargo of 1973 which are predicated on the assumption that a long-term scarcity of energy resources is imminent. As early as 1963, Harold Barnett and Chandler Morse stated in their book *Scarcity and Growth: The Economics of Natural Resource Availability* that one of the

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conclusions which could be drawn from the professional economic literature on natural resources was that:

> In economic terms, the belief seems to be that natural resources are scarce, that the scarcity increases with the passage of time; and that resource scarcity and its aggravation impair levels of living and economic growth. This set of simple and seemingly meaningful propositions epitomizes the dominant group views of laymen and experts alike concerning the influence of natural resources upon economic welfare and economic growth. But in our view – contrary to much of the opinion surveyed – these propositions are neither self-evident nor easy to formulate in meaningful terms. (6)

To investigate these propositions, Barnett and Morse conducted an empirical study of natural resource scarcity in the United States over the period 1870-1957. Based on the results of their study, they concluded that:

> Our empirical test has not supported the hypothesis . . . that economic scarcity of natural resources, as measured by the trend of real cost of extractive output, will increase over time in a growing economy. Observing the extractive sector in the United States from 1870 to 1957, we have found that the trend in the unit cost of extractive goods as a whole has been down – not up. (7)

The conclusion by Barnett and Morse that, as recently as 1957, resource scarcity was declining rather than increasing is, to say the least, surprising in view of public policy pronouncements on energy issues since 1973. An interesting as well as important question is whether or not a significant change has occurred in the energy outlook since 1957 which can justify recent public policy actions related to energy. Although Barnett and Morse analyzed trends in resource scarcity for four major classifications of extractive products (agriculture, minerals, forestry, and fishing), we concentrate on mineral fuels so that this sector's trends in resource scarcity can be updated to 1970. The mineral fuels sector consists of three commodities: petroleum and natural gas, bituminous coal, and anthracite coal. Anthracite coal, however, is a minor factor in total coal resources, representing about 1.5 percent of total coal output and about 1.8 percent of total United States coal reserves.

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As defined by Barnett and Morse, an increase in scarcity for a given resource is indicated by an upward trend in the unit cost of extraction for the commodity. This definition is independent of changes in price which occur over time; such a consideration is particularly important in imperfect markets, e.g., the market for crude oil which is dominated by the OPEC cartel. In imperfect markets, prices may be artificially fixed and do not represent the interaction of supply and demand. From the viewpoint of the economist, the real costs of production are the physical inputs required to produce the output.

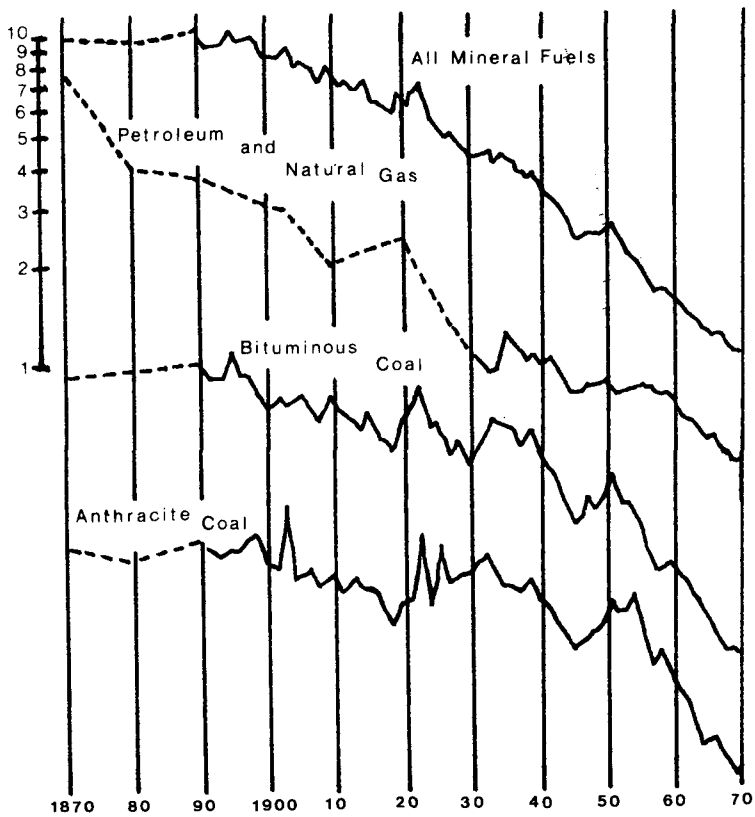

Figure 1. Unit Labor Extraction Costs for All Mineral Fuels and for Three Fuel Subgroups, 1870-1970.

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Table 1

Index of Unit Labor Costs of Extraction
for Mineral Fuels, Selected Years, 1870-1970
(1954 = 100.0)

Year	Petroleum & Natural Gas	Bituminous Coal	Anthracite Coal	All Mineral Fuels
1870	907.2	310.9	172.2	528.1
1880	463.8	317.8	161.6	509.4
1890	441.2	298.8	179.5	510.9
1900	355.2	247.0	166.2	459.4
1910	244.3	229.7	133.1	382.8
1920	282.8	195.2	107.3	314.1
1930	131.9	181.3	144.4	231.3
1940	115.6	164.6	117.2	175.0
1950	97.7	139.2	111.3	132.8
1955	97.5	83.6	86.1	92.2
1960	84.1	70.1	61.6	67.2
1965	68.2	44.9	42.4	54.7
1966	63.6	41.5	39.1	51.6
1967	59.1	41.5	36.4	48.4
1968	56.8	39.7	33.1	46.9
1969	56.8	39.7	35.8	46.9
1970	52.3	39.7	36.4	43.8

Source: Neal Potter and Francis T. Christy. *Trends in Natural Resource Commodities*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962. (8)

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Table 1 contains indices of the unit labor costs required in the extraction of the three mineral fuel commodities and all mineral fuels for selected years over the period 1870 to 1970. The base year for the indices is 1954 so that all other entries are relative to that year. It is immediately obvious that the unit labor cost declines steadily for the three individual mineral fuels over time, although there are some fluctuations in the anthracite coal series. The entries in the table are indices of physical output per employee engaged in extraction. Because the length of the work week has declined dramatically since 1870, a series based on the output per manhour of labor input would show an even more pronounced decline in the unit labor cost of extraction. The Barnett and Morse study terminated in 1957, but as is readily apparent, the declines between 1870 and the mid-1950's continued uninterrupted or, indeed, accelerated between 1955 and 1970. In the fifteen-year period from 1955 to 1970, the index of the unit labor cost of extraction fell by about 50 percent for all three of the individual mineral fuels as well as for the total.

These results are highlighted when depicted graphically as shown in Figure 1, where annual data for the four indices of unit labor costs are plotted over time. The dashed lines indicate the period for which only intermittent observations were available. The vertical scale on the chart is logarithmic because relative changes are of interest, not the absolute levels. Since the plotted series are index numbers, the slopes of the plotted curves show relative changes. Note that for all mineral fuels, the rate of decline in the labor cost per unit of extractive output was greater in the 1955-1970 period than in the 1930-1955 period. The same conclusion holds for each of the three individual mineral fuels.

The table and the graph both show that, for the major energy resources currently in use in the U.S., scarcity has continued to decline since the mid-1950's, which supports the conclusion drawn by Barnett and Morse for the earlier years 1870-1957.

An obvious question arising from this finding is: if there is so much domestic petroleum and natural gas and the unit cost of extraction is declining then why is this country importing such large amounts and incurring huge trade deficits? The problem is simply a matter of profit. The price of domestic crude oil is controlled at a substantially lower price than the

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price of imported petroleum, therefore, even with plentiful domestic supplies it is still more profitable to import crude than obtain it domestically. Unfortunately, the flood of dollars going abroad to pay for these imports weakens confidence in the U.S. dollar as a reserve currency and causes its values to decline relative to other currencies.

Obviously, labor is not the only input employed in the production of mineral fuels, for capital also plays an important role in the extraction of mineral fuels. The indicator of scarcity employed in this paper, however, does not take into account the contribution of capital to output. In this regard, John Kendrick has noted that "capital per unit of labor input increased in all the industry groups but one – oil and gas." (9) Indeed, Kendrick estimates that for the oil and gas industry the average annual percentage rate of change in capital per unit of labor input declined by 3.0 percent from 1948 to 1966; the rate of decline for the period 1960-1966 increased to 4.3 percent per year. Kendrick's estimates lead to the conclusion that if capital were also included as an input in computing unit extraction costs of petroleum and natural gas, the decline in scarcity in the post-1957 period would be even more pronounced than previously shown.

Although estimates of the capital employed in coal mining over the period studied are not available, very large increases in the units of capital per unit of output would be necessary to reduce significantly the decline in the unit labor cost of output of either bituminous or anthracite coal. In any case, coal reserves in the U.S. are so enormous that coal can hardly be described as a scarce resource. At current rates of consumption, the known domestic reserves of coal are adequate for at least 700 years.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

In spite of the fact that in recent years numerous public policy actions have been justified on the basis of an imminent shortage of domestic supplies of energy resources, particularly oil and gas, we find no evidence of increasing scarcity of any of the major mineral fuels. Evidently technological change has succeeded in reducing the real unit extraction costs of both coal and petroleum and natural gas. Our findings are in agreement with the conclusions of the Report of the National

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Commission on Supplies and Shortages which has received little, if any, attention in the professional or the popular literature, viz.,

> We see little reason to fear that the world will run out of natural resources during the quarter century or more we have defined as the long run. The evidence reviewed in this chapter suggests that if anything puts the brakes on economic growth it will not be physical unavailability of resources. (10)
>
> . . . any significant materials shortage that the United States will experience within the next quarter century — and probably for generations thereafter — will result from short-run shocks that produce shifts in demand or supply large and abrupt enough to exceed the immediate adjustment capabilities of the materials-producing and materials-using industries. While certain of these abrupt shifts lie outside human control, a surprisingly high proportion of them are related, either directly or indirectly, to the actions of governments. The institutional and policy recommendations we have made are designed to increase the likelihood that our own Government does not inadvertently generate disruption as a consequence of being unaware of the impact of its actions. (11)

The energy "crisis," which has been touted to the public as an engine of impending doom, can be more appropriately described as a public deception. It is in the self-interest of the federal energy bureaucrats to insure that the public remains convinced that short-term dislocations in supplies are harbingers of long-term energy famines. Such beliefs enable the bureaucracy to obtain large Congressional appropriations and legislative authority to regulate the private energy sector. In fact, it is in the bureaucratic self-interest to identify and accentuate, and even to create problems, in order to expand the size and scope of energy policy administration.

The conclusion that the government itself can generate disruptions in resource markets is one of the findings of the National Commission on Supplies and Shortages cited above. There is also evidence that the federal government energy establishment acts to not only ignore but also to suppress information which reduces the fear of a long-term energy

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shortage. The Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) produced a study of future energy availability known as MOPPS -- the Market Oriented Program Planning Study. MOPPS estimated that if the potential of geopressured methane, i.e., natural gas, were exploited, enormous quantities of energy would be available. ERDA rejected these findings and insisted that the study be repeated. When the second report came to the same conclusions, a third attempt was ordered to prove the existence of long-run energy shortages. Unfortunately for ERDA, the age-old adage that "the third time is a charm" did not hold, for the third study did not reverse the findings of the earlier studies. At this juncture, in near desperation, ERDA resorted to the only reasonable course of action: the MOPPS document was withdrawn from public circulation. *The Wall Street Journal* on April 4, 1978 reported the following instruction issued by J. D. Livsey, the Superintendent of Documents, to all depository librarians:

> The Department of Energy has advised this office that the publication *Market Oriented Program Planning Study (MOPPS). Integrated Summary Vol. 1, Final Report, December, 1977* should be removed from your shelves and destroyed. The publication was shipped on S/L 10,558 (2nd shipment of February 7, 1978), under Item Number 420-P(E1.18:0011)/1(D). We are advised the document contains erroneous information and is being revised.

As long as the energy sector is permitted to respond to the economic signals provided by prices which are determined in the market place through the interaction of supply and demand, free from bureaucratic interference, the "energy crisis" will remain a figment of bureaucratic imagination. The large and unwieldy federal energy establishment is far more a part of the problem rather than the solution. The present energy crisis is, in fact, more a bureaucratic contrivance resulting from unnecessary and inefficient controls than a true omen of immediate, impending doom.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Donella H. Meadows *et al.*, *The Limits to Growth*, New York:

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Universe Books, 1972, pp. 23-24.

(2) The Institute of Ecology, *Man in the Living Environment*, Report of the 1971 Workshop on Global Economic Problems, Chicago: The Institute of Ecology, 1971.

(3) The Institute of Ecology, *Man in the Living Environment*, revised edition, Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1972.

(4) Frederick J. Wells, *The Long-Run Availability of Phosphorus*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975, p. 11.

(5) As an example of less costly alternatives, consider the current popularity of wood stoves for home heating.

(6) Harold J. Barnett and Chandler Morse, *Scarcity and Growth: The Economics of Natural Resource Availability*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963, p. 49.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 199.

(8) The same sources employed by Potter and Christy were used to update these series to 1970.

(9) John W. Kendrick, *Postwar Productivity Trends in the United States, 1948-1969*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1973, p. 91.

(10) National Commission on Supplies and Storages, *Government and the Nation's Resources: Report of the National Commission on Supplies and Shortages*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976, p. 22.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. iii.

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POPULATION AND POPULATION POLICY IN MAINLAND CHINA*

By Chai Sunglin

Population has become one of the most serious problems confronting the present-day world. Since the size of a country's population is closely linked to its military strength, economic performance, and external relations, it is a major factor in evaluating the nation's power capabilities. In the past, China's large population was not considered to be a factor enhancing her standing in the international arena. However, since the fall of the mainland into the hands of the Chinese Communists, there has been an increase in the attention paid to the problem of population on the Chinese mainland. Analysis of population realities in Mainland China and the Peiping regime's policy on population problems should shed light on the various social and economic problems that will influence its future position on the international scene. Moreover, the size, distribution, and future trends of population on the Chinese mainland merit the interest and attention of people interested in the problems of overpopulation throughout the world.

Study of the mainland's population is hindered by the unavailability of information and the resulting unreliable demographic data. For unknown reasons, the results of some censuses and other surveys have never been announced. Even when sporadic data has been made available, the methodology employed has not been detailed. The collection of data on the population of Mainland China is, of course, complicated by the vastness of its area and the scarcity of dependable and complete statistics. However, some conclusions are possible on the basis of the available data published by the Peiping regime.

The Emergence of Population Policy in Mainland China

No serious attention was paid to the problem of population in the years immediately after the Communist takeover. In theory, the Peiping regime followed Marxist doctrine, which

* The theme of this paper has been further developed in *Asia & the World Forum*, Monograph Series, Number Six, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China, November 1977.

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holds that worries about overpopulation are groundless because the problem of overpopulation arises as a result of unequal distribution of wealth which results from capitalist methods of production. According to this school of thought, the capitalists take the lion's share of wealth and impoverish the remainder of the population.

All Marxists since Karl Marx (1818-1833) have to a man blamed each and every social ill on capitalism. (1) They claim that "labor is the sole source of value; therefore, the working class is the best, creative and progressive class. Under the socialist system, a vast worker population is most valuable and constitutes a kind of security for increased production and economic progress." (2) It is also their belief that population is the "wellspring of social wealth" and "the guarantee for accelerating production and economic progress." The Marxists also hold that "population problems arise from the social system, from conflicts between productivity and production relations in a specific society. A different production way results in a a different population law and a different population problem; the approach to solving such population problems varies with concrete historical conditions. Despite occasional shortages of laboring population during its progressive stage, the unemployment, hunger, poverty, etc. of the laboring population usually reflect their oversupply and the sharp conflicts between such social production relations and productivity." (3) They believe the way to resolve such conflicts is to get rid of private property and to change social production relations.

The basic ideas of the Marxist school on population are:

1) The population in a society where social classes exist should be understood via the composition of classes. (4)

2) Population cannot be studied without reference to social classes, nor can social classes be studied without reference to social, economic or production relations. "Social classes would be mere empty words if I do not know such elements as capital and hired labor upon which they are based." (5)

3) Capital accumulates because of the labor force, and the labor force, because of capital accumulation, continually expands itself until it becomes superfluous. (6)

4) Surplus labor is the result of capital accumulation.

5) Surplus labor, when reaching a certain level, will become

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the force that negates capitalist production.

In short, classical Marxists believed that the solution to surplus population depends upon the resolution of the conflicts between production relations and productivity. Social classes, as creators of these conflicts, must be eliminated and production information must be owned by the public so as to undo the problem of surplus population and the problems of unemployment, poverty, evil and war it causes. (7)

According to the proponents of Marxist population theory, "China is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial society under the aggression and oppression of imperialist powers," and it "suffers from foreign full-grown capitalism." Plagued by impecuniosity, joblessness, disease, death, war and surplus labor, China would appear to be the practical model of surplus population described by Malthus. (8)

The Chinese Communists, however, paid lip service to these Marxist ideas but never really put them into practice. They blindly regarded a large population to be an asset and birth control "a means of slaughtering the people without drawing blood." This attitude resulted from their inadequate understanding of the population problem and their underestimation of the size of China's population.

Results of the Peiping regime's first census, announced in November 1954, revealed a population of over 580 million, which was increasing at a rate of 2 percent per year. (9) Apparently, appalled at this figure, the Communist regime began to take a serious look at the potentially grave consequences of a possible population explosion.

"Since the 1953 census, the Chinese population has increased annually. The number of births has outnumbered that of deaths by over 10,000,000 per year. Such vast growth, from the viewpoint of demography, has generated a series of problems of serious consequence that require immediate solution." (10) Open discussion of the population problem was taboo until February 1957, when the Supreme State Affairs Convention sanctioned discussion. (11)

Discussion of the population problem in academic circles began with Chung Hwei-lan's "Birth Control and the Population Problem." He cited the Chinese saying "Two for one generation and one thousand for ten generations" as proof that population tends to increase in geometrical progression. (12)

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Cheng Ta was also of the opinion that the mainland population was confronted with grave needs "which can be grouped under two categories: employment and a declining birth rate. Birth control and deferred marriage are problems of great concern to the people. At the third plenary meeting of the second national commission of the Chinese People Political Consultative Conference, for instance, there were 32 persons who spoke on the population problem and another 66 who proposed motions on the problem. Discussion centered on a number of urgent issues such as birth control, deferred marriage, abortion, national population increase and demographical studies." (13) According to Cheng Ta, birth control had the following advantages. "1) A family of fewer children would be better able to provide its children with better living and study conditions, as well as better chances for future employment. 2) Birth control would benefit the health of mothers as well as improve the work and learning of both parents. 3) Birth control would benefit the work and study of young people who marry at the lowest age sanctioned by the "Marriage Law," because the birth of children could be deferred. 4) Contraception could prevent the transmission of some inheritable diseases. In short birth control would greatly benefit family life, national reconstruction and the life of all people." (14)

Ma Yin-tsu advocated "control over the fast expanding population in order to 1) hasten the accumulation of capital, 2) raise the productivity of farmers, 3) develop industry, 4) promote scientific research, and 5) assure a sufficient supply of food." (15) After a tour of Chenkiang province, Ma found "some areas have an increase rate of 2.5% , some 3%, and some even more than 5%," and concluded that "in fifty years the Chinese population will exceed the present world population, and unless precautionary measures are taken, serious difficulties may result, aggravating popular discontent and even bringing about a second Hungarian affair." (16)

A Peiping University professor, Wu Ching-tsao, wrote in 1957, "In view of economic reconstruction, such a quickening population growth can only result in more consumption and less capital accumulation. On the basis of the First Five-Year Plan, for each additional worker, some 3,000 JMP has to be

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invested in equipment and working capital, but the total of capital accumulated from national income in one year will amount to only around 17 billion JMP and generate only 1,300,000 new jobs against a population increase of 10,000,000. But estimates based on actual conditions reveal that the 10,000,000 newborn population will have consumed a total of 15 billion JMP by the time they reach 15 years of age. (17)

Long before this discussion of the population problem by academics got into high gear, the State Council in August 1953 instructed the Ministry of Health to assist people practicing birth control, and it approved regulations governing contraception and abortion. At the second meeting of the First National People's Congress held in September, Shao Li-tse proposed contraception as a means of birth control. On December 27, 1954, Liu Shao-chi convened a seminar on birth control and a study group on the subject was later organized in the State Council's Second Office, which finally worked out concrete measures aimed at promoting birth control among the people. (18)

By March 1955, the Chinese Communist Central Committee decreed that "birth control is a major policy decision greatly concerned with the life of the people. Under present historical conditions, our party is in favor of adequate birth control in the interests of the state, family life and the younger generation." (19) The next year, the Ministry of Health issued an order to the effect that all provincial, city and autonomous regional health authorities should pay proper attention to the contraception question, because "contraception is a democratic right of the people which requires that the government provide all necessary assistance to meet the people's need for contraception. . . . All health agencies should first require their employees to thoroughly practice contraception and then coordinate with women's leagues, labor unions, associations for science popularization. (20)

In his report on "Proposals Regarding the Second Five-Year Plan," delivered at the CCP's Eighth Congress in September 1956, Chou En-lai stated, "To protect women and children and to have a well-bred young generation so as to promote national health and prosperity, it is advisable to enforce adequate birth control. The health authorities should be made

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responsible for coordinating efforts at carrying out propaganda in favor of birth control and initiating effective measures." (21) Thus was launched a mainland-wide birth control campaign.

In a talk on "How to Deal With Internal Conflicts Among the People," given at the 11th Enlarged Supreme State Affairs Convention on February 27, 1957, Mao Tse-tung himself discussed the problem of overpopulation. On June 19, 1957, *The People's Daily*, carried the full text of a revised account of the talk. In his revision of the talk, Mao deleted the instruction about birth control, but he did propose that "All problems such as food, famine, employment, education, intelligentsia, the united front of all patriotic forces, minority peoples, and others should be attacked from the standpoint of 'overall and well-considered arrangements,' and the most appropriate arrangements should be made in view of actual conditions and in coordination with all concerned agencies. No buck should be passed because there are too many people, they are too backward, or things are too difficult." (22) "We have to admit the indisputable fact that we have 600 million people, which constitute an important asset. It is a good thing to have a large population, though it also brings problems." (23)

The revised draft of the 1956-1967 guidelines for agricultural development submitted by the Communist Central Committee on October 25, 1957, stipulated that, except for minority areas, a birth control campaign should be started in all densely-populated areas so that families may not suffer under a heavy financial burden as a result of a large family, and the next generation may be better educated and better prepared for employment. (24)

Meetings of the National People's Congress and the Political Consultative Conference all became forums for discussion of birth control. The Ministry of Health order on birth control prompted all health administrative units to make arrangements for the training and distribution of medical personnel, training of campaign workers, and the manufacture and supply of contraceptive pills and devices.

However, political changes aborted this move, and by the time of the Great Leap Forward, the birth control campaign had been halted and some of its active advocates were purged. Leftist academics cited inflated production figures in vicious

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attacks against the supporters of birth control measures, saying that the supporters were seeking to negate the superiority of the socialist system and villify the Communist method of economic modernization. (25)

"The Great Leap Forward"

With the Great Leap Forward which was launched in 1958, the Communist leaders reversed the trend towards birth control and argued that a massive input of labor could alone produce spectacular economic results and enable them to overtake the industrially advanced Western countries. Thus, they asserted that labor shortages were the real problem they faced. Their propaganda catchwords were: "Two heads are better than one; there is greater enthusiasm and higher spirit when more people are around," "Things get done easily with more people;" "Besides the mouth, a man has two hands with which to create material wealth;" "When united, the 600 million pairs of hands are a giant pair of hands that can move the sky and the earth and produce immensely . . . . the problem lies not in too large a population, but in manpower scarcity." (26) At the time the Three Red Flags campaign, which whipped up demand for labor, was in full swing, proponents of birth control were denigrated as superstitious believers in the Malthusian population theory and as anti-Marxists. The new Communist leadership asserted that "no rightists shall be allowed to carry out political intrigues in the name of a population problem." (27)

This reversion of opinion to traditional Marxist views was only temporary, however. After a three year period of natural disasters, beginning in 1960, reduced farm production, the resultant famine prompted the autocratic regime to once again recognize the gravity of population pressures and to harp on the importance of planned parenthood. Deferred marriage was encouraged and the legal age for marriage was raised from 20 to 30 for men and from 18 to 25 for women. Various bureaucratic restrictions were also imposed. "Months elapse before an application for permission to marry is acted upon by the concerned party authorities. In most cases, the applicants will be summoned by political commissars and party secretaries to be lectured on the necessity of subjecting individual interests to party interests, namely deferring their marriage." (28)

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In certain areas, food and other rations were denied the fifth and later children of families as a means of enforcing birth control. (29) "All hospitals have also been authorized by the government to sterilize those mothers who have given birth to three children without having first obtained consent." (30) Late marriage, contraception, abortion, and sterilization were combined to lower the birth rate and, hence, lower the natural rate of population increase.

In January 1962, the Communist customs authorities announced that birth control supplies could be imported duty-free.(31) Propagandist campaigns were soon resumed intensively all over the mainland. The Communist Central Committee presided over the wide-spread and strictly enforced measures. (32)

A series of meetings on birth control was convened in 1961 and 1962 by the Ministry of Health and attended by representatives of all city and provincial health organizations. The meetings concluded that in a matter of years the population growth rate should be brought down to below 2% and in five to ten years the rate should be further reduced to 1.5% to 1%. The number of children born to a couple was strictly limited, as shown in the slogan "Two is just right, three is too much, and four is definitively wrong." No food and cloth rations were given the third and other children and no maternity leave was granted the mother who gave birth to the third and other latecomers. Deferred marriage was encouraged, students and apprentices were dismissed if they got married, abortions and sterilizations were liberally performed.

This new birth control campaign was interrupted during the Cultural Revolution, only to be resumed in 1968, with the active participation of the state authorities. (33) In June 1973, *Red Flag* magazine carried an article which claimed: "A large family resulting from a lack of birth control will not only interfere with the parents' work and learning, but do harm to their children's education and development. Under a planned economy, birth control should be practiced. To realize birth control, we have to struggle with our time-honored feudal traditions and establish new trends in the course of criticizing old ones." (34) Contraceptive pills were supplied and induced abortions performed free of charge. (35) Propaganda was conducted and contraceptives distributed through all health

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organizations, medical teams on circuit, bare-footed doctors and military surgeons. (36) Restrictions on marriage were further tightened, and in some areas men and women were prohibited from getting married before 35 and 30, respectively, under pain of losing their rations or having them reduced. (37)

Beginning in 1972, material incentives and other forms of preferential treatment were instituted for those who were sterilized. In addition to family planning measures such as deferred marriage, compulsory contraception and sterilization, heavy penalties were imposed in cases of families exceeding a maximum of three children. These resulted in a loss of legal status and food rations for the new-born babies and dismissal for officials and employees. (38)

Meanwhile all provincial, city and regional authorities also conducted meetings of women representatives aimed at reaching conclusions to "educate women on new morals, new trends, deferred marriage and planned parenthood. Planned parenthood should be regarded as a top priority and placed on the agenda of party officials so that the leadership may always have birth control on their minds and incorporate birth control directions in the production plans."

While receiving the visiting Norwegian foreign minister in May 1973, Chou En-lai stressed the importance of birth control to avoid the offsetting of economic growth by population increase and asked for Norwegian textbooks on family planning for reference. (39)

The above summary shows the Communist Chinese vacillated in their ideas on and attitudes towards the population problem until they eventually adopted decisive family planning measures in recent years which bear no resemblance to the Marxist population theory.

Thus in 1973 a Peiping spokesman declared:

> It is our national policy to assure planned population growth, which is not prompted by the existence of an overpopulation problem; rather, in our country, social growth, population increase included, proceeds on a planned basis. To step up the complete liberation of the female sex, to protect mothers and their children, to have a well-bred rising generation and to promote the people's health and prosperity, it is imperative that population growth be well-planned. (40)

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Through the propaganda machine, Peiping's position on the population problem amounted to saying that the state should exercise control over population size. It asserted:

> We don't approve of the anarchic state of material production, nor do we endorse anarchic conditions of population growth. Man has to dominate nature; he also has to control himself. To realize planned population increase, we will, on the basis of raised production and higher living standards, strive to improve medical and health services in rural areas as well as in cities, strengthen medicare for mothers and children so as to bring down the rate and moderate the birth rate through planned parenthood.

A Peiping commentator further stated that:

> By planned parenthood, we mean not mere birth control, but different approaches in different conditions. In areas thickly populated and having a high birth rate, we will encourage late marriage and birth control and try to cure sterility. In sparsely populated minority and other areas, we will carry out appropriate measures to promote increase in population and production instead of advocating birth control, but will render assistance to those couples with too many children who have submitted requests for guidance in birth control. (41) To those who voluntarily practice birth control, the state furnishes contraceptives and related medical services free of charge.
>
> The natural increase rates in densely populated areas have shown signs of a declining trend. Greater Shanghai's population has a natural increase rate of 0.97%; Kiangsu province, 1.22%. The planned parenthood work has not evenly developed, and continuous effort should be made in the future. (42) The situation has now changed considerably. The Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region has a natural increase rate of 2.1%, while the Uigur Autonomous Region's population is expanding at a rate as high as 3%. (43)

All the Communist statements cited above were for foreign consumption, but were incongruous with realities at home. The lack of reliable population statistics certainly casts doubt upon the validity of the few figures given.

The highest Communist authority in charge of promoting

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birth control is the State Council's Birth Control Office, later known as the Steering Committee on Planned Parenthood. (44) It has the task of coordinating efforts of concerned agencies in this area.

CCP headquarters at various levels are also actively involved in the birth control movement. The party apparatus in Heishan, Liaoning, for instance, directed that all party cadres "should put planned parenthood on their agendas. All party organizations must repeatedly criticize beliefs such as: childlessness is the most serious impiety against one's ancestors, men are superior to women, and it is fortunate to have a great number of boys. New ideas should be established such as: boys and girls are equal, one should marry later in the interest of the cause of revolution, and one should not raise too large a family." (45) All provincial revolutionary committees held meetings for the exchange of experiences in health revolution (46) or conferences on planned parenthood. (47) Resolutions reached at such gatherings echoed the Peiping regime's position on planned parenthood and are summarized as follows:

1) The propaganda drive in favor of planned parenthood was aimed at fully developing the female labor force for the benefit of revolution and production. Planned parenthood coupled with deferred marriage amounts to an ideological and social revolution intended to improve society morally and culturally and to break decisively with outdated traditions.

2) Deferred marriage and birth control constituted an important event in rural areas, a far-flung revolution in the superstructures, a decided-upon policy in the period of socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction, a strategic guideline for preparation to guard against war and famine, an influential factor in assuring the balanced development of national economic plans.

3) For densely populated areas, deferred marriage and birth control should be encouraged. While birth control should have as its target cities, industrial and mining centers, and thickly populated rural areas, compaigning for birth control and deferred marriage should focus on the other areas.

4) For minority and other areas which are not densely peopled, appropriate measures should go into effect to favor population growth and barren women should be given medical treatment, but parents already with a large family should be sterilized.

5) Urban people should marry later and have less and wider-

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spaced children than their rural cousins. Guidelines should be formulated to assure deferred marriage and a small family among the masses by providing them with birth control and contraceptive knowledge.

6) All health agencies must step up training of birth control personnel in birth control techniques and constantly improve and popularize these techniques. They are also requested to strictly carry out birth control measures. The agencies concerned should also take it upon themselves to search for more effective, simple and economical contraceptive drugs, devices and methods. The drugs and devices should be better manufactured and distributed.

7) All maternal and child health stations should have qualified technicians and provide modern health knowledge, day-care centers should be improved and the morbidity of mothers and children should be reduced to benefit planned parenthood.

8) All people's communes should, making use of the "Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius" campaign, organize teams to drive home the birth control message and mobilize the masses for observing deferred marriage and planned parenthood requirements.

Mainland Population After 1949

The population on the Chinese mainland expanded at a fast pace following the Communist takeover, especially in the first years. Chen ta wrote in May 1957:

> The new China's population has shown a rising trend; a marked drop in the death rate has helped raise its natural increase rate. (48)

Before the 1953 census, the Peiping regime had conducted surveys of farmers' property, farmland and farm population as a preliminary to the land reform program and was doubtful about the results. The regime also carried out a survey of urban population to provide data for control on rationing, schooling, employment, migration, etc. Peiping has also published since 1949 quite a number of population figures which often contradict one another. Population figures from 1949 to 1957 are as follows: (49)

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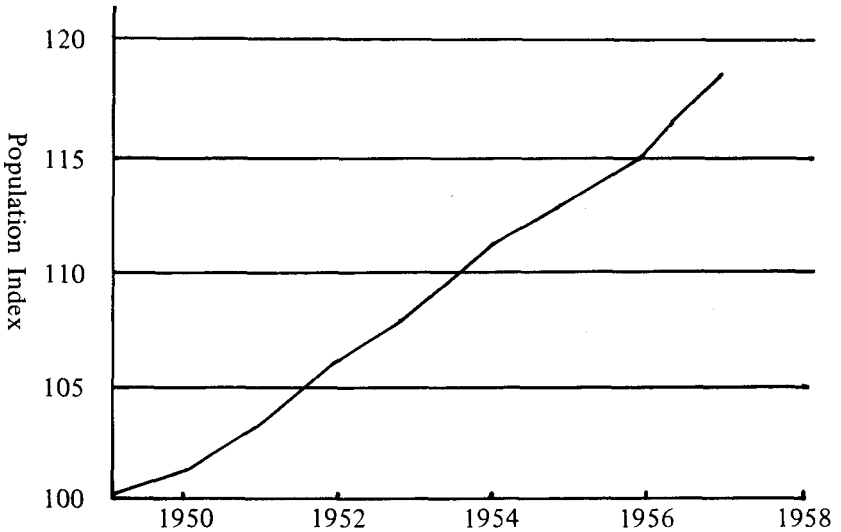
Chart 1 Chinese Mainland Population Indexes, 1949-1957
(1949=100)



After 1957, Mainland China claimed that it had a population of 650,000,000, though no official statistics were published until sometime between April and May in 1964, when the Chinese Communist Central Committee ordered another census (of which no formal results were made public). Peiping did, however, reveal in 1966 that there were 700 million people on the Chinese mainland. (50)

A world atlas published by the Chinese Communists indicated that Mainland China had a population in 1970 of 697,260,000. (51) Estimates by foreign observers and agencies varied widely. (52)

In 1972 the Central People's Broadcasting Station revealed that the mainland had over 700,000,000 population. (53) Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien, while receiving a Japanese airline delegation in the same year, claimed that the mainland population was more than 800,000,000, while industry people insisted that it could not exceed 800,000,000. (54)

The Peiping regime made it known on January 1, 1975 that "In 24 years our population has increased by almost 60%, from around 500,000,000 to nearly 800,000,000." (55)

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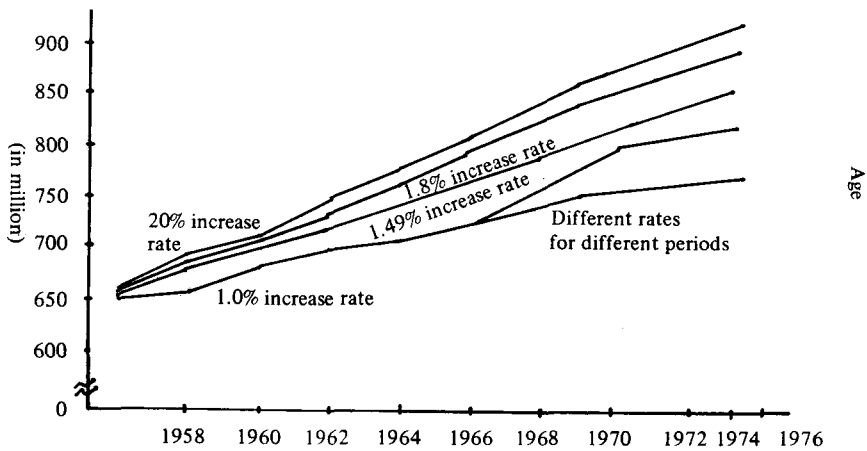
Based upon statistics on population published by the Chinese Communists from 1957 up to the Cultural Revolution, it is safe to assume that the mainland population annually increased by 1.49% during this period. This pace ought to have declined somewhat after 1968 as a result of a reactivated birth control campaign, though this effort still was unable to eliminate the gap between the ideal and the actual number of children in a family. In accordance with the Communist plans, the population should have increased by 1.2% from 1968 to 1972, and by 1.0% after 1973. Population growth on the mainland from 1958 to 1975 is estimated in Chart 2 on the basis of various uniform rates indicated, but the last column calculates expansion by means of differential rates for different periods, and puts the 1978 mainland population at 819,757,000. This estimate is about the same as the figure recently given by the Chinese Communists.

Chart 2 Chinese Mainland Population Estimates, 1958-1975



The Future of the Mainland Population

Continuous expansion of the Chinese mainland's population is a foregone conclusion, though the rate of increase has been a subject of widespread dispute among population experts. Chinese Communist sources put the population increase at a

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slow pace, approximately 1.0%; but a comparison of statistics revealed around 1968 and in 1957 shows that the mainland population increased at the rate of 1.49% a year.

Huang Yu-chwan in 1967 estimated the 1965 mainland population at 780,777,400, which if first growing as much as since 1978 at the uniform rate of 1.0% will be 2,197,030,000 by the year 2000. (56) The estimates of the United Nations and the U.S. Department of Commerce show even higher figures.

U.S. Department of Commerce Estimates and Projections for Mainland China Population

Year	Total (in millions)	Birth rate%	Death rate %	Natural increase rate %
1978	999	3.55	1.20	2.35
1976	1,022	3.49	1.16	2.33
1980	1,046	3.43	1.12	2.31
1981	1,070	3.37	1.08	2.29
1982	1,095	3.32	1.04	2.28
1083	1,120	3.26	1.00	2.26
1984	1,145	3.21	0.96	2.25
1985	1,171	3.16	0.92	2.24
1986	1,197	3.12	0.88	2.24
1987	1,224	3.07	0.85	2.22
1988	1,251	3.03	0.82	2.21
1989	1,279	3.00	0.79	2.21
1990	1,307	2.96	0.76	2.20

Conclusions

1. In the years immediately following its takeover of the mainland, the Peiping regime did not pay proper attention to

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the population problem and followed in theory the Marxist population ideas, blaming all difficulties on capitalism and looking upon a mammoth population as a precious asset.

2. Not until the publication of the 1954 census did Peiping realize the serious consequences of a fast expanding population and forsake the Marxist theory for a population regulating policy, from which was born the mainland wide birth control campaign.

3. The birth control campaign, interrupted during the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, was revitalized after 1968, and carried on more energetically than before.

4. The Chinese Communist attitude toward the population problem on the mainland, as recently expressed, consists in assuring planned population growth depending upon a lower death rate and planned parenthood. Deferred marriage and birth control are promoted in populous areas and measures favorable for population growth are adopted in sparsely populated minority regions.

5. No discussion of the population problem was permitted in academic circles until 1957, since when the majority of scholars have advocated birth control, because, in their opinion, too large a population is bound to create difficulties.

6. The Communist health authorities were instructed as early as 1953 to render assistance to the people in practicing birth control and to promulgate regulation governing contraception and induced abortion. Birth control was promoted, late marriage encouraged and stringent population-limiting steps like withholding food rations and maternity leaves taken.

7. The State Council's Steering Committee on Planned Parenthood, as the supreme authority for the birth control movement, assigned various duties in this campaign to related health agencies and various party, youth and women organizations. Education is conducted through meetings, study classes, radio, slide shows, dramas, printed materials, with equal emphasis placed on personal and public interests. In addition, the practice of birth control is compulsory.

8. During the period from 1949 to 1957, when Peiping regularly published statistics on population, the mainland population showed a marked increase, from 541,670,000 to 646,530,000. A decade elapsed before the Peiping regime revealed in 1966 that it had under its rule 700,000,000 people. Statistics given

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by various provinces, cities and autonomous regions around 1968, put the mainland population at 711,800,000, probably a result of the second census taken in June 1964. About ten years later, Peiping indicated the mainland had almost 800 million population.

9. If population on the mainland increased at an annual rate of 1.49% from 1957 to 1967, at 1.2% from 1968 to 1972 and at 1.0% from 1973 on, the estimated population by 1975 would have reached 819,757,000, close to the number given by Peiping recently.

10. The mainland's urban population continues to expand, despite efforts to reduce it. Shanghai (over 10 million) and Peiping (over 7 million) rank first and second on the list of more than 2,000 cities. Tientsin, Chungking, Mukden, Wuhan, Canton, Harbin, Ludai, Nanking, Sian, Tsingtao, Chengtu, and Taiyuan each have more than one million population.

11. It was estimated that by 1978, urban centers had 128,700,000 population or 15.7% of the total, *v.* 691,060,000 or 84.3% in rural areas. However, the ratio of urban to rural population will remain 1 to 5 because of a slower natural increase rate in cities.

12. The year 1953 witnessed a sex ratio of 107.56, which declined gradually in the subsequent years.

13. The number of dependents climbed from 67 in 1953 to 75 in 1958, but it fell little by little in response to the effect of birth control.

14. Identified ethnic minority groups total 54 in number, which in 1964 had an aggregate population amounting to 6% of the mainland area. The three most populous minorities are the Chuang, Huis and Uigurs.

15. An active birth control program greatly reduced the birth rate, which was estimated to be 2.0% in 1975, slightly higher than that of the Soviet Union or Italy. The death rate in mainland China was lowered to 1.0%, mainly owing to a decline in infectious diseases and in the mortality rates of childbearing mothers and newborn babies. The natural increase of population on the mainland dropped to 1.0% in 1975 as a result.

16. The Chinese mainland population is expected to reach at least 933,950,000 by 2000, if during this period there are no major political and military changes, no significant

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population policy alterations, no breakthroughs in economic growth, and continued control over birth and migration.

FOOTNOTES

(1) "Our View of the Population Problem," *Economic Guide*, 1401-2: 7-8, Hongkong, Jan. 1., 1975.

(2) Tien Ho, trans., "The Population Problem in Mainland China," *Kung Shang Jih Pao*, Hongkong, June 19, 1958.

(3) Wang, Ya-nan, "A Discussion of the Marxist Population Theory and the Chinese Population Problem," *New Construction*, 104:16, Peiping, May 1957.

(4) Wang, Ya-nan, *The Marxist Population Theory and the Chinese Population Problem*, 1st ed., Peiping, December 1956.

(5) See Note (3).

(6) Marx, Karl, *Das Kapitalism*, Chinese trans. by Wang, Ya-nan, p. 973.

(7) Wang, Ya-nan, *The Marxist Population Theory and the Chinese Population Problem*, 1st ed., Peiping, December 1956, pp. 22-23.

(8) See Note (7).

(9) *The People's Daily*, Peiping, November 1, 1954.

(10) Chen, Ta, "Birth Control, Deferred Marriage and the New China's Population Problem," *New Construction*, 104: 1, Peiping, May 1957.

(11) Mao, Tse-tung, *On How to Correctly Deal with the Internal Contradictions of the People*, Peiping, 1957, p. 25.

(12) Chung, Hwei-lang, "Birth Control and Our Population Problem," *Wen Hwei Pao*, Shenghai, March 16, 1957.

(13) See Note (10).

(14) See Note (10).

(15) Ma, Yin-tsu, "A New Population Theory," *New China Semi-monthly*, 15:35, Peiping, 1975.

(16) "Interview with Ma Yin-tsu," *Wen Hwei Pao, Shanghai*, April 27, 1957.

(17) Wu, Ching-tsao, "A New Way to Look at the Chinese Population Problem," *New Construction*, Peiping, March 3, 1957.

(18) "Adequate Birth Control is Necessary," *The People's Daily*, Peiping March 5, 1957.

(19) Chang Pei-kang, Mao Kong, and Hu Chun-chieh, "Socialist Population Rules and Population Problem," *Economic Study*, 4:30, Peiping, 1957.

(20) *The Kuang Ming Daily*, August 13, 1956.

(21) *The People's Daily*, September 19, 1956.

(22) See Note (11), p. 25.

(23) See Note (11), p. 24.

(24) *The People's Handbook*, 1958, p. 506.

(25) Wang, Choh and Tai, Yuan-chen, "A Critique of New Population Theory," *Economic Study*, February 1958; Ming, Tsu, "It Is Good to Have a Large Population," *Planned Economy*, Peiping: June 1958; Chou,

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Chia-en, "On Ma Yin-tsu's New Population Theory," *The Kuang Ming Daily*, April 19, 1958; Sun, Fa-shiang, See Note (21).

(26) *The People's Daily*, April 15, 1959.

(27) *The Wen Hwei Pao*, October 16, 1957.

(28) Chou, Yu-ruey, "An Ugly Matter of Peiping," *United Daily News*, Taipei, Dec. 2, 1972.

(29) Radio Moscow (Chinese broadcast), Nov. 10, 1968.

(30) *The Sing Tao Jih Pao*, Hongkong, August 30, 1964.

(31) *The Ta Kung Pao*, Hongkong, Jan. 21, 1962.

(32) *Chinese Women Monthly*, Taipei, April 1962.

(33) The Revolutionary Committee of Taishan, Kwangtung, for instance, convened on Oct. 28, 1969, a four-day planned parenthood meeting which called for intensive efforts by all communes, revolutionary committee members, hospital authorities and midwives to promote birth control.

(34) "Birth Should Also Be Planned," *Red Flag*, Peiping, June 1973.

(35) "Edgar Snow's Correspondence," *Times*, Italy, July 25, 1971.

(36) Extension of oral contraceptive pills taken 22 days a month, once a month or three months, and contraceptive drugs inoculated once a year.

(37) 1) No clothing coupons for persons married earlier than the legal age,

2) Food rations are halved after the birth of children,

3) No leave will be granted women married before the legal age when they fall sick or become pregnant, and

4) No medical bills will be paid by the government for cadres thus married.

(38) *The Sing Tao Jih Pao*, Hongkong, September 16, 1973.

(39) *Reuter, Peiping, May 13, 1973.*

(40) Chi, Lung, "How We Deal with Population Growth and Economic Development," *Economic Guide*, 16:45, Hongkong, April 25, 1973.

(41) As revealed by Communist Chinese broadcasts, however, some 45,000 people in the Lhasa area take oral contraceptives a year.

(42) The leading factor responsible for the past low increase rates in minority areas was a high mortality rate of newborn babies.

(43) "Our Views on the Population Problem," *Economic Guide*, 1401-2: 7-8, January 1, 1975.

(44) Reuter, Peiping, November 12, 1973.

(45) Radio Liaoning, December 4, 1974.

(46) Radio Kwangsi, August 20, 1974.

(47) Radio Hopeh, October 26, 1974; Radio Shantung, October 26, 1974; and Radio Kiangsi, November 22, 1974.

(48) Chen, Ta, "Birth Control, Deferred Marriage and the New China's Population Problem," *New Construction*, May 1957.

(49) Statistic figures for 1949-56 cited in Table 1 were based on *Statistic Work* 11:24, Peiping, 1957. Figures for 1957 came from data published by the State Statistical Bureau and carried in *The Great Decade*, Peiping, 1959. Greatly different population figures for 1949-53 are also available from various Communist Chinese sources.

(50) *The People's Daily* (editorial), August 1, 1966.

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(51) Including population of the Taiwan area.

(52) As reported by the *Sing Tao Jih Pao* of October 28, 1968, the Japanese Foreign Affairs Ministry estimated the 1968 Chinese mainland population at 730,000,000. The Chinese Studies Institute of Japan estimated the mainland population at 760,000,000 in 1969 and 790,000,000 in 1970. According to the United Nations Statistics Bureau, the estimated Mainland China population was over 700,000,000 in 1964 and 759,000,000 in 1970, while Edgar Snow's interview with Mao in 1964 indicated that Mainland China had 680,000,000 or 690,000,000 population. The U.S. Bureau of the Census put the estimated 1970 population in Communist China at 870,000,000. A *World Today* (Hongkong 496:14) report on Chinese mainland population said that Chou En-lai, in an interview granted Felex Greene, indicated that he believed Mainland China had a population of a bit over 700,000,000. The former chief of state of Cambodia Sihanouk said that there were 800,000,000 people on the Chinese mainland, as reported by the *Sing Tao Jih Pao* on October 22, 1972. The United Nations *Demographic Yearbook* estimated the Chinese mainland population at 583 million in 1953 and 670 million, 682 million, 695 million, 707 million, 720 million, 733 million, 747 million, 670 million, 670 million, 774 million, 787 million and 801 million from 1962 through 1972, respectively.

The Soviets also estimated population on the Chinese mainland at 547 million in 1949, 647 million in 1957, 729 million in 1965, 797 million in 1971, 809 million in 1972 and 820 million in 1973.

(53) *The Central People's Broadcasting Station*, July 3, 1972.

(54) AFP, Tokyo, August 23, 1972.

(55) See Note (20).

(56) Huang, Yu-chuan, p. 134.

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THE ROOTS OF DISTRUST OF MARXISM BY CATHOLICS

By Jeffrey St. John

Although liberal, progressive and Marxist elements within world Catholicism are inclined to ridicule the violent anti-Communist attitude of conservative traditionalist Catholics as "knee jerk" and "reactionary," their distrust of Marxism is rooted in more than just emotion, or the doctrinal belief that Marxism or Communism is the lethal enemy of Catholicism in particular and Christianity in general. In fact, the roots of distrust and hatred are based on what Communism had done to Catholicism wherever it has taken power and what it has sought to do to come to power in places like Spain. The Spanish civil war in the mid-1930's for older Catholics, still holds the bitter and vivid memories of what the Communists actually did to the Church there.

The British historian, Hugh Thomas, author of what is regarded as the most authoritative work on the Spanish civil war, contends that Republicans (Communists-Marxists) murdered some 7,937 religious persons in their total war against the Spanish Church. Thomas contends twelve were bishops, 283 were nuns, 5,255 were priests, 2,492 were monks and 249 novices. (1) "At no time," notes historian Thomas, "in the history of Europe or perhaps the world has so passionate a hatred of religion and all its works been shown." (2)

Until the elevation of Pope John XXIII in the late 1950's, it would be the Spanish Church experience that would provide the basis for the militant anti-Marxist view held by the Vatican. In a March 19, 1937, encyclical, Pople Pius XI, for example, maintained that the slaughter in Spain and the assaults by Marxists on the Church in Mexico and Russia were clear proof that Communism was out to destroy Christian civilization. "Communism, moreover," the Pontiff added, "strips man of his liberty, robs the human personality of its dignity, and removes all moral restraints that check the eruptions of blind impulses. There is no recognition of any right of the individual in his relations to the collectivity; no right is accorded the human personality, which is a mere cog-wheel in the

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Communist system." (3)

Four decades later the Spanish-born scholar-educator and Jesuit President of Central American University in Managua, Nicaragua, Dr. Juan B. Arrien, was asked by this author in an interview whether Pius XI's words were, as many insisted, outdated and irrelevant. "In ideas right now it is relevant," he replied, "but in describing the actual situation it is irrelevant." (4) Father Arrien, moreover, disputes the widely-held view among left-wing Catholics that Marxism and the Church have compatible outlooks. "Marxism and Catholicism," he pointed out, "are very, very different philosophically. Maybe we can have some similar views in praxis, but with very different roots and different objectives." Further, Father Arrien warned that the Church was faced with the real danger of being used by Marxists. (5)

Cuba: The Marxist Switch in Strategy

The skillful use by Fidel Castro of the Cuban Catholic Church to come to power is the least examined aspect of how the Soviet Union managed to establish an armed fortress 90 miles from American soil. It is still largely ignored that while the Marxists failed to seize power in Spain in the 1930's, the Communist veterans of that conflict, with the help of elements in the Cuban Catholic Church, managed to triumph in Cuba in the late 1950's. In fact, historian Hugh Thomas contends that some 150,000 refugees of the Spanish Civil War fled to Latin America and took up residence in Argentina and Mexico. (6) Furthermore, the early Castro guerrilla movement worked with the Spanish Republican exiles in Mexico, which became a main organizing center for preparing the campaign of terrorism, propaganda and the movement of arms into Cuba in support of Castro. (7)

One journalistic veteran of the Spanish Civil War, identified by Thomas as having covered the Republican (Communist) side, was Herbert L. Matthews of *The New York Times*. The author Nathaniel Weyl in his work on how Castro came to power asserts that Matthews did in Cuba what he failed to do in Spain: providing misleading propaganda in a series of articles for the *Times* that Castro was an advocate of freedom and democracy and not a revolutionary Marxist. "Herbert L. Matthews," wrote Weyl, "built up Castro as a hero, pleaded for

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him as the downtrodden underdog." (8)

Another pro-Castro writer, historian Carelton Beals, maintained years after Castro came to power that his charge that the pro-American regime of Fulgencio Batista "murdered some twenty-thousand civilians" precipitated a popular groundswell that helped him win support of "the Catholic hierarchy" and other non-Communist middle- and upper-class groups in Cuba. (9) The U.S. Ambassador to Cuba in the last days of Batista, Earl T. Smith, revealed, moreover, that the Catholic Church in Cuba set out to try and mediate between Castro and Batista and form a government of conciliation. "There were a number of times," Smith recalled, "when I was asked as Ambassador if we would help the Church in its efforts to establish a bridge between Castro and Batista or if we in any way would support a national unity government." (10)

Twenty years later, in nations like Nicaragua, the same charges of mass murder would be heard, with the Catholic Church, in conjunction this time with the United States, seeking to form a government of conciliation to solve a crisis created by Castro-trained and -armed terrorists who are seeking to overthrow the pro-U.S. regime of President Anastasio Somoza.

It is clear that the Marxists had learned from their experience in Spain that rather than destroy the Catholic Church, they must skillfully enlist its support with the goal of purging it of its dupes and transforming it into an instrument that would serve future Marxist revolutions in the Hemisphere, as Castro successfully proceeded to do.

Dr. Nicholas Rivero, a former Castro sympathizer and director of information of the Cuban Foreign Ministry, later driven into exile, stated that shortly after coming to power Castro set out to subvert the Catholic Church. "Many priests," he wrote of warnings in 1960 by the Church hierarchy of Castro's movement toward Marxism, "and laymen did not believe that Castro's aims were Communist and remained in favor of the revolutionary government. The most important Catholic fortnightly publication, *La Quincena*, edited by an ardently pro-Castro Franciscan Father Ignacio Biain, continued to defend and justify every radical step taken by the Cuban government." (11)

The progress that Castro had made in transforming the Cuban Catholic Church into a totalitarian instrument for violent

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revolution was illustrated by Dr. James Hitchcock, professor of history at St. Louis University. The author of several works on Catholic radicalism observed in 1973 that Catholic radicals committed to violent Marxist revolutionary doctrine meant that the religion of Marxism would supplant the religion of Catholicism. "In Cuba," he observed, "this appears to mean identification with the regime, which is regarded as doing essentially religious work through its efforts against poverty and ignorance. Christians who have reservations about the government are regarded as old-fashioned or insensitive to social needs. Personal religion is discouraged by revolutionary priests and seminarians who regard themselves as missionaries to the Church, so that Christians can find their own role in the revolution." (12)

Castro openly boasted in January 1968 at a Havana Cultural Congress how a group of revolutionary Catholic priests supported the war against American imperialism and how revolutionary ideas were "even penetrating religious sectors and how more and more revolutionary combatants are emerging from these sectors." (13) Later at the same conference he accepted criticism of certain non-Marxist Catholic leaders that he was intent on fostering revolutionary cadres within the Church. "The United States," Castro said, "shouldn't worry about the Soviets in Latin America, because they are no longer revolutionaries. But they should worry about the Catholic revolutionaries who are." (14)

Totalitarian Theology of Liberation

One such revolutionary priest was Camillo Torres, killed in January 1966 while fighting with Castro-trained and -armed terrorists in Colombia. Like Che Guevara, Torres became more useful dead than alive as a revolutionary symbol for other Catholic radicals to emulate in carrying forth the theology of revolution. "No individual," observed the pro-Castro writer, James Petras, "has made a greater contribution to undercutting the alliance between the Church and the ruling class than the Catholic counterpart to Che Guevara – the guerrillas' priest Camillo Torres." (15)

Marxist priests and nuns committed to the "theology of liberation" have apparently managed to make violence and murder acceptable by rationalizing, like most totalitarian in history, that they serve a higher cause to change external

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environmental conditions in the name of the poor. The espousal of hatred for the private economic and social system, seen as the cause for such conditions, leads advocates of the "theology of liberation" to what John Deedy, editor of the liberal Catholic journal, *Commonweal*, maintains is the embracing of Marxian economic theory. "The radical rationale," he observes, "is that violence even unto death is better than a compromise with injustice." (16)

Such a revolutionary doctrine is very similar to the underlying rationale for the use of violence by the American student radicals of the 1960's. In fact, firm links exist between the Marxist revolutionary priests in Latin America, espousing the totalitarian theology of liberation, and their secular counterparts in the American New Left student and anti-war movements.

Shortly after the death of Camillo Torres, for example, American Maryknoll missionaries Marjorie and Thomas Melville were expelled from Guatemala for preaching and teaching peasants to take up the Marxian armed struggle. Both, along with Guatemalan priest Blase Bonopane, were later active in the U.S. anti-war movement of the 1960's.

Both Melville and Bonopane would also become co-defendants in the trial of the U.S. Jesuit radical priests Philip and Daniel Berrigan in the burning of military draft records.

A World of Moral Confusion

When James Earl Carter, Jr., was sworn in as President in January 1977 he staffed his administration with many former activists from the civil rights, student and anti-war movements. It was shortly after completing his appointments that a major thrust of Carter's foreign policy was an emphasis on human rights, applied vigorously against anti-Marxist governments of Chile, Argentina, and Nicaragua while ignoring human rights violations of left-wing and Marxist regimes in Cuba, Panama and elsewhere. This double standard can be traced to three factors. First, possible penetration of his administration by former student radicals trained by the Cuban DGI. Second, a naivete on the part of non-Communist Carter appointees. Three, the movement of older Carter appointees from a formerly liberal point of view dedicated to containing Communism to one of accommodating to its inevitability.

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It is still overlooked, or not recognized, what great impact the radicalizing period of the 1960's had on the U.S. in general and the world in particular. This was a period when the Vatican was moving, like many secular political leaders of the West, toward accommodation rather than confrontation with Communism. By accepting that belief, both religious and political leaders in the West, who are weary of the struggle and not sustained by strong principles and moral conviction, have left themselves vulnerable to manipulation and provided a moral and political legitimacy that neither murderers nor political criminals deserve in a free society.

This manipulation by Marxist revolutionaries of non-Marxists was illustrated shortly after Castro's Havana Cultural Congress speech in January 1968 in which he boasted how he was creating revolutionary cadres in the Catholic Church. The Bishops of Latin America met at what came to be called the Medellin Conference in Colombia. At its conclusion, a profoundly ambiguous report was issued that was widely regarded by the Marxist leftists as a "radicalizing stance." This was in line with what Dr. Malachi Martin observed earlier: that the Vatican under Pope Paul VI had concluded that the Church could no longer resist the march of Marxism, and therefore, must accommodate itself to it in order to insure the Church's survival. The meeting of Bishops in Colombia in 1968, therefore, gave their tacit endorsement to such a view and to the theology of liberation as published by the Christians for Socialism in Chile. (17) For example, the secularization of the Gospel meant, in the words of Professor Hitchcock, "politics virtually obliterating religion." (18)

Since the once non-political Chilian military overthrew the Marxist government of Salvatore Allende in Chile in September 1973 a great cloud of confusion, some of it deliberate smokescreen, has hung over that event. Part of this confusion was the result of an international press portraying the Chilian military as the agent of authoritarian Fascism. The Chilian Catholic Bishops, who had previously endorsed the participation of Catholics in the Allende Marxist government, did not see the military coup in their country as a dark day for democracy, but rather as "the end of a nightmare" and a day of "true liberation." (19)

The Chilian Catholic Bishops also observed, in a report

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largely ignored by the news media, that while Marxist Allende enjoyed three years of favorable news coverage, the military junta that prevented the establishment of a permanent Marxist-Leninist dictatorship along the Cuban model had its reputation blackened beyond recognition. "After the world was convinced," observed the Chilian Bishops' report, "that the military junta would remain as Chile's government, the battle for human rights started. Everybody became a defender of human rights." (20)

Launching the campaign for human rights, according to the Bishops, obscured the plans Allende and his associates in the Christians for Socialism had for Chile. In fact, as early as 1962, radical Chilian Jesuit priests spelled out for the world what models they wanted for the country. "Almost without wanting to," wrote the Chilian Jesuit magazine, *Mensaje*, "we think of Russia, China and Cuba. . . . It is the mass of people who seek to acquire power in order to bring authentic common good. Logically this mass which wants 'revolution' takes its inspiration from early revolutionary ideology within its reach — Marxism. To deny that 'fact' is to close one's eyes to a very obvious reality." (21)

It is not surprising to find a reaction in the Church against Marxism, as when the Chilian Bishops concluded, five months before the military had acted to overthrow Allende: that his alliance with the Christians for Socialism was intent on using the Church as a revolutionary instrument to come to power and establish a permanent Marxist-Leninist dictatorship. "In sum," they wrote in April of 1973, "the activity of the group 'Christians for Socialism' is profoundly ambiguous and requires a clear definition of their part. If this group proposes to be a front for the penetration into the Church, in order to convert her to a particular program of social revolution, let them say so frankly and clearly and then cease to consider themselves as an ecclesiastical group. . . . The ambiguity cannot go on, because it damages the Church and confuses many of the faithful, besides being by its nature an abuse of the priesthood and of the Faith." (22)

FOOTNOTES

(1) *The Spanish Civil War*, Harper & Row, N.Y. 1961, p. 173.

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(2) *Ibid.*, p. 175.

(3) "Atheistic Communist," Encyclical Letter (*Divini Redemptoris*) of His Holiness, Pope Pius XI (Vatican Press Translations), Issued March 19, 1937; published in National Catholic Welfare Conference Publication, Washington, D.C., pp. 4,5,8.

(4) Interview on tape with the author in English, Managua, Nicaragua, Sept. 20, 1977, 11:00 a.m. to 12:15 p.m.; taken directly from tape.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *The Spanish Civil War*, Op. Cit. p. 605.

(7) Nathaniel Weyl, *Red Star Over Cuba*, Devin-Adair, N.Y., 1960; p. 246.

(8) Nathaniel Weyl, *Op. Cit.*, p. 205.

(9) *The Nature of Revolution*, Thomas Y. Crowell, N.Y., 1970. p. 260.

(10) Testimony in "Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean," *Hearings, U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Part 9*, Aug. 27-29, 1960, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. pp. 685-587.

(11) *Castro's Cuba, An American Dilemma*, Luce Publishers, Washington, D.C. 1962, pp. 157 7 166.

(12) *American Scholar*, "The Evolution of the American Catholic Left," 1973-74 issue, p. 82.

(13) Reprinted in the *New Left Reader*, Fidel Castro's speech, "The Universal Conscience," Grove Press, Inc., N.Y., 1969, Carl Oglesby, Ed., p. 199.

(14) *New York Times*, "Church in Latin America Develops Leftward Trend," July 13, 1969.

(15) *The New Guardian*, 1969, "Revolt of the Priests," a book review of Revolutionary Writings by Camillo Torres.

(16) *New York Times*, Oct. 19, 1975, "A New Militancy in the Church."

(17) *Chile First Hand – A Report from Santiago*, Part V: "The Real Position of the Chilean Bishops," The Wander Press, St. Paul, Minn., 1974, pp. 38-39.

(18) *American Scholar*, Op. Cit., p. 81.

(19) Episcopal Conference of Chile, Private Report by the Episcopal Conference of Chile to sister Episcopal Conferences About the Present Situation in Chile, Item #79, pp. 63-64, Christmas 1973.

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(21) Quoted in *Revolution Next Door – Larry America in 1970's*, Gary MacEoinm, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, N.Y., 1971, p. 214.

(22) *Chile First Hand – A Report from Santiago*, Op. Cit., p. 39.

* This theme has been expanded in Jeffrey St. John's "The Priesthood of Power – Human Rights, Revolution, and the Crisis of Catholicism," published as a monograph by *The Journal of Social and Political Studies*, Washington, D.C., November 1978.

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ISLAM AND ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY

By M. Hisham Sabki

Observers sometimes express concern that portions of the Islamic world might one day become Communist. To understand the nature and the dimension of the confrontation between Islam and Communism it is important that we examine the basic tenents of Islam.

As a religion, Islam is simple to adopt. All that is required is for one to say "There is but one God and Muhammad is his Apostle." This SHAHADA (profession of faith) is sufficient to make one a Muslim. There is no initiation, no probationary period as required by some other religions.

There are five basic pillars in Islam:

The SHAHADA – (profession of faith) – "There is but one God and Muhammad is his Apostle."

Prayers – Muslims are required to pray five times a day and should face Mecca. Prayers could be performed anywhere but ideally they should be said in a MASJID (Mosque) standing in rows behind an IMAM who leads the movements.

Fasting – Fasting is required during RAMADAN, the ninth month of the lunar year, when Muslims are supposed to abstain from all food and drink during the hours of daylight.

AL-HAJJ – The Pilgrimage to the Sacred Mosque at Mecca is an obligation for every Muslim, although it is explicitly limited to everyone who has the necessary means and the physical ability to reach Mecca.

ZAKAT – (almsgiving) – Muslims must pay the ZAKAT tax on their income.

Islam however, is not simply a religion as is ordinarily understood in its narrow sense. It embodies principles and institutions to guide human behavior towards the achievement of the best possible results in every sphere of life including social, individual, political and economic. (1) Hence Islam is a system of government, an economic system and a social system. The concept of UMMA or Community was evident since the early days of Islam in the city of Medina.

SHARI'A – The Islamic System of Law

The basic sources of SHARI'A or Islamic system of law are

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the Holy Koran and the SUNNA (the Way) of the Prophet as recorded in the Tradition of his words during his lifetime. The Koran was revealed to Muhammad by Allah over many years.

The Medinan chapters of the Koran are chiefly concerned with the structure of society, the protection of the safety, lives and property of its members.

Apart from the detailed regulations of family life, the Koran contains a large body of ethical teaching and legal injunction.

The Hadith is the Prophet sayings or traditions. It supplements the Koran by giving Muslim examples of the Prophet sayings and doings.

Islam being a politically organized community as well as a religion guarantees to every Muslim certain rights. These rights include:

a) HAQ al-HAYAT – the right to live and, as its corollary, the safeguarding and protection of health and illness.
b) HAQ al-HURRIYAH – the right to freedom in all its forms, and particularly to political freedom.
c) HAQ al-TAMALLUK – the right of ownership subject to certain conditions.
d) HAQ al-ILM – the right to education. This right extends to all the knowledge the nation needs, both spiritual and material.
e) HAQ al-KARAMAH – the right to dignity in all its aspects. (2)

Although Islam legislated for each citizen the Five Rights, it held the community responsible that each Muslim should enjoy these rights. The concept of al-takaful al-ijtima'i (mutual or joint responsibility) includes all material and moral aspects of life. "The believers are brethren." (3) and "And help one another in righteousness and piety; and help not one another in sin and aggression." (4)

Righteousness in the Koran means maintaining good relationship, good social association, good morals and avoiding tyrannical behavior. "(He) hath made me kind to my mother, and not overbearing or miserable." (5) Piety means justice. "Be just, that is next to piety." (6)

The concept of al-takaful al-ijtima'i is also supported in the Hadith. "None of you can be a believer unless he would love for his brother what he loves for himself." (7)

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Communism and Communist Ideology

Communism is one of the newest claimants for possession of authority in the world. It is a universal system basing legitimacy on the truth of its doctrine. But it has failed to provide a practical system for the world and has yielded to the pattern of the Western State System.

The Communist model, highly Utopian, lacks any provision for authority except the truth of its ideology. Attributing the cause of friction in human relations to institutional arrangements rather than human nature as such, Communism forecasts a world society in which politics will have become anachronistic.

The authority and power of the state will wither away, leaving only voluntaristic and self-regulating economic and social groupings.

It must be emphasized that the disavowal of power in the ideal future has paradoxical consequences for Communism's use of power in the present. Since the future is so exceptionally attractive, the means to its attainment are not subject to restraint. This preoccupation with power, rationalized in terms of an immediate culmination of history, is the key to an understanding of the Communist outlook on the non-Communist world.

One inhibiting factor is the nonpolitical character of the model of the future that Communism projects. But what are the strategy and tactics of the interim period? Political power is generated by an ideology that claims to explain the whole of history and that views events as favoring its own preferences and predictions. Yet such a grand conception is bound to be wrong. The difficulties of implementing the universal pretentions of the Bolshevik revolution have been overwhelming. (8)

Russia and China are deadly enemies. They have had racial, territorial and economic disputes. Moreover the states of Eastern Europe have retained their national identities and their relationships with the Soviet Union are subject to the stress and strain of politics.

The Conflict Between Islam and Communism

Islam and Communism are diametrically opposed. Islam's fundamental conflict with Communism lies in its concept of faith on a Divine will that has planned the universe from

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whom we human beings have come and to whom we return. The Islamic ideology covering social, economic and political framework and guiding the Islamic way of life differs from the Marxist society on that fundamental assumption. This ideology is inspired by faith in the hereafter towards which Muslim life is directed. Moreover Islam is opposed to materialistic dialectics since life is not just materialism. Accordingly, Islam considers the Marxist way of exclusively materialistic interpretation of society as basically wrong. (9) Islam looks upon man as a being who aspires to soar high in the realms of spirit and thought. Nor are his needs limited to food, shelter and sexual gratification. Communism on the other hand rests on purely materialistic basis. In Islam man is viewed as an active being with a free will of his own that is subject to the higher will of God alone. "And He has subjected to you, as from him, all that is in the heavens and on earth." (10)

In contrast Communism views man as a passive being whose will has no importance. "The mode of production of the material means of existence conditions the whole process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness." (11)

In Islam private ownership is allowed but within certain restraints. A Muslim must discharge his responsibilities to his community by paying the ZAKAT tax. Under the Communist ideology private property is considered the source of all evils.

Islam recognizes the significance of economic conditions but it does not elevate them to the highest level in human existence. The concept of al-TAKAFUL al-IJTIMA'I (mutual responsibility) is an integral part of Islamic ideology. Man is not alone in the Islamic community. The UNMA (community) has a responsibility to meet the essential needs of all Muslims.

Conclusion

Communism could not take root where Islam is strong. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs concluded in 1948 that its analysis "confirms what has long been known, namely that nothing in the history of the peoples, their psychology, or current stage in governmental and institutional development is particularly conducive toward receptivity to Communist

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propaganda or growth of Communist strength as such." (12)

This statement is still valid some thirty years later. The reason for the ability of Islam to confront Communism successfully is the Islamic ideology. It is an ideology that combines the spiritual and material needs of man without subjecting him to the exploitation of capitalism or depriving him of freedom and enslaving him under Communism.

FOOTNOTES

(1) M. Raihan Sharif, *Islamic Social Framework*. Lahore: S. H. Muhammad Ashraf, 1963, p. 91.

(2) Mustafa al-Sibai, *Ishtirakyyat al Islam*. Cairo: al-Dar al-Qawmyya, 1960, pp. 35-81.

(3) Surat al-Hujurat, 10.

(4) Surat al-Ma'idah, 3.

(5) Surat Mariam, 32.

(6) Surat al-Ma'idah, 8.

(7) Narrated by al-Bukhari.

(8) Edward H. Buehrig, "The International Pattern of Authority," *World Politics*, Vol. XVII, 365.

(9) M. Raihan Sharif, p. 97.

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SWEDEN – A MODEL OF WHAT?

By Eric Brodin

Although Sweden has been called by many names, the "Land of Sin, Suicide and Socialism," is perhaps the one which is best known. It has also been called a Model of Socialism, and, depending whether your name is Michael Harrington or Bill Buckley, it is a model to emulate or to avoid.

Actually there is some debate as to whether Sweden is a socialist society. Part of the confusion is due to the socialists themselves, who claim abroad that Sweden has a mixed economy with only five percent of the nation's economy under state-ownership, while to the people at home they point to the welfare provisions and the high standard of living and say: this is what socialism has brought you. To get closer to the truth, if we choose to define socialism as the state ownership of the means of production, then Sweden is *not* socialist, but if by socialism we mean state control of the results of production, then Sweden is socialist indeed. In any case the Public Sector is becoming increasingly dominant in the Swedish economy. Three fourths of the transport, wharfs, and mines, and one fourth of the forests and assorted other enterprises, including banks, the largest hotel and restaurant chain, and – significantly – practically all education, radio and television, are state owned.

From 1932 to 1975 the Social Democrats ruled Sweden mostly alone, sometimes with an odd agrarian and during the war years in a coalition government. Forty-three years is a long time without a change of government. In that time a super-structure of socialist welfare provisions can be built up; so firmly established as to be safe from political changes, secure in the power that corrupts.

The significant thing, therefore, is not how much in Sweden is owned by the state, but rather *what* is owned and what other means of controls the state is able to exercise over the people. In short, Swedish socialism has "a human face," but it is a Janus-face. Behind the benevolent mask of the welfare state, with its provisions for the so-called welfare and security of the people, is the harsher reality: the regimentation of collectivism from which no one living in Sweden can escape.

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Let us look at some of the ways in which social welfare in Sweden affects the daily life of the Swedish people.

Business and Industry

1. An employer is required by law to announce all vacant positions in the Labor exchange, and is equally compelled to accept the applicant assigned (except under very special exceptions).

2. While in law the "freedom of association grants to employees the right to belong or not to belong to unions," in fact no employer would dare to guarantee this freedom. Compulsory unionism is nearly total and four fifths of the unions allied to the CLO – Central Labor Organization. Most unions also compulsorily affiliate their members to the Socialist Labour Party, with the result that they have to pay political party dues.

3. If a person has received employment lasting six months or more it is practically impossible to fire him or her, even for grave absenteeism, repeated drunkeness during work, and dishonesty. When a small shop owner in southern Sweden fired two employees who had stolen clothing in the shop where they worked, the owner was fined for illegally firing the workers. In another instance the firm was fined by a Labor Board for firing a man after he had received a year's jail sentence. The absence should have been regarded as the same as absence due to pregnancy or for studies, and a substitute should have been hired, the court declared. Such restrictions on the employers result in unemployment, with effects similar to those resulting from the minimum wage law in USA.

4. Peace in the Swedish labor market has been assured by labor-management negotiations stemming from the 1938 Saltsjobaden agreement, which gave employers the right to hire, fire, direct and allocate work. In a recent decision this law was turned around, giving these rights to the unions instead of the employers! As the Unions are affiliated with the Socialist party a non-socialist can be prevented from obtaining a desired appointment for which he may be fully qualified.

5. A recent law, part of the "democratization" drive, requires a representative of the "workers" on the Board of Directors or in management. This workers' representative is not to be democratically chosen by his peers in his place of employment,

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but is selected by the unions. If these decide that a particular shop or industry has no worker "qualified" for the position, they can choose someone from outside. As Unions are at times part-owners of enterprises, this can in effect permit industrial espionage against competing non-union owned enterprises.

6. The training of the workers' representative, as well as the Swedish language training for immigrant workers, is in the hands of the ABF (Workers' Educational Association), a Party affiliated organization whose instruction material – including language text books – is ideologically anti-capitalist and pro-socialist. As employers have to give workers paid leave of absence to attend these programs, they are in effect required to finance activities which work against the best interests of their own firms.

7. By law an employee is guaranteed six month's full salary in the event of a company liquidation. At the time of formation firms must deposit this sum in reserve or obtain guarantees from a bank. Many small or medium firms cannot obtain such guarantees, and as a result many much-needed employment opportunities do not get off the ground. For the same reason one third of all registered Swedish enterprises are "one man companies" and for the same reason there are increasing incidents of people working "black."

8. This last phenomenon is due to the rapid increase in the costs to the employer of the employees' social fees (pensions, illness insurance, etc.). Such costs for the employers have increased ten times during the past 18 years on a $14,000 salary and fifteen times in the $45,000 a year range. With additional charges resulting from new union contracts, the costs to the employer (aside from wages) may be up to 60 per cent of the salary. The doubling of bankruptcies in Sweden within a decade is, in part, due to this. Of Sweden's 300,000 small firms, 75,000 of them disappeared during the 1970s. Few can afford to inherit a company when inheritance tax totals more than 40% of the value, including the estimated value of fixtures.

9. Hardly a single major Swedish enterprise today exists without one form of subsidy or the other. These may take the form of "relocation" subsidies, training grants for new jobs, or subsidies to retain personnel to produce items which cannot be sold – with the government paying the salary of the unneeded and unwanted workers. In some cases, the state has

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even guaranteed loans to produce ships for which there was no buyer — all in the name of the "sacred cow" of Swedish economics — full employment.

But economic inefficiency is only one phase of Swedish life. There are other areas in which the social welfare policy of the Swedish socialists affects the life of individual Swedish men and women.

Education

There is practically no private education left in Sweden today. No single facility for higher education remains in private or denominational hands. Of late, some Christian primary and secondary schools have started, but they have a precarious existence, as there is no tax exemption for contributions to any religious or idealistic institution. Schools advocating other educational theories, such as those of Montesori or Rudolf Steiner, are discriminated against or harrassed by government authorities through licensing requirements, refusal of building permits and the like.

The state school curriculum calls for compulsory instruction in religion (Jews are exempted). But the instruction is so watered down that the instruction amounts to a survey in which Moses, Marx and Mohammed are put on a par with Jesus Christ. It is significant of the declining freedom of choice that when a small Free Evangelical Church in Stockholm (St. Martin Parish) wished to conduct the religious instruction of its parishioners' children, the congregation had to appeal all the way to the Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe before the government agreed to release the children from the official religion classes.

When Sweden signed a UNESCO agreement which included a provision guaranteeing parents the right to determine "the religious and ethical education of their child," she did so only with the express exception to that clause, based on the pretext that Swedish state school instruction was so "objective" that it was not necessary to extend this right to the parents of Swedish school children.

Such a situation is easily understood when we realize that Swedish social engineers, such as former premier Olof Palme, have declared that the school should be used as a tool in the creation of a socialist society.

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The totally socialized educational system in Sweden contrasts sharply with that of Denmark, whose laws guarantee any eight parents the right to organize their own school, and where an effective "voucher system" is in effect to help give private schools economic parity with state schools.

The Church

Another important feature of Swedish life is the anomaly of the continued existence of a State (Lutheran) Church. For more than two decades and at the cost of several million dollars a committee for the separation of Church and state has been working in Sweden without result. And for good reasons. When the socialists entered the Swedish political scene in the 1880s one of the fundamental planks of their platform was the disestablishment of the State Church. Today the Socialists are alone (except for the senior Conservatives) in advocating the retention of the State Church. As the state appoints two thirds of all bishops the socialists see this as another form of governmental power. During their long hegemony they could appoint politically reliable bishops, and it is no coincidence that the present Swedish Archbishop has openly declared that he would rather live in the atheist Soviet Union than in the United States, because he finds American commercialism offensive to his Christian sensibilities. What the realities of the Communist Gulags does to his supposed Christian sensibilities has not been recorded.

Because the State Church is regarded more as a service institution than a religious denomination, attendance is very low, varying between one half to 2.3 percent on a given Sunday. People still maintain membership more out of habit than anything else, especially as the Church still maintains civil registration. When you are born (or emigrate into Sweden) you are automatically placed on the rolls. It is possible to opt out, but not every person knows this and those that do still have to pay a Church tax.

Certainly there is no legislated religious discrimination in Sweden. But inasmuch as the government is allowed to interfere in so many ways into the life and activities of both individuals and of organizations, there is a potential for discriminatory treatment which is constantly used. The right of municipal expropriation, for example, can condemn the chapels and other

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buildings of non-socialist denominations whereas this never happens to edifices of the State Church, regardless of how empty they may be on Sundays. This has happened to free evangelical and catholic churches in central Stockholm and to eleven edifices (mostly villas) used by the Mormon Church, to cite some examples. The denomination is given a choice of two sites, often on the outskirts of the cities, far from the elderly core membership. A punitive tax of 25% of the total cost is imposed on the value of the new structure, and the government from time to time imposes a special tax on "non-utilitarian" buildings such as gas-stations, warehouses – and churches.

Press, Radio, Television

One of the most essential ingredients in any society which wishes to call itself free is the untramelled expression of its media – press, radio and television. The Swedish press is still free from government interference, but economic restraints are increasingly in evidence. No major Swedish newspaper or even journal of opinion exists without government subsidy in Sweden today. One is therefore justified in wondering how long this freedom will exist. In any analysis it is evident that Communist and left wing publications receive a disproportionate share of these subsidies. This has not changed with the new non-socialist government inasmuch as those in charge of these allocations are still ideologically part of the previous regime. In the 1977/1978 budget 6 million kronor ($1-3 million) were given to 149 periodicals (discounting newspapers). Of these 41 were of a political nature and received 1-3 million kronor. A mere 175,000 kronor went to four right of centre periodicals.

Radio and television is a state monopoly. There is no possibility either to establish independent networks or to purchase time. Sweden's largest "Free Denomination" the Pentecostal Church has more freedom of the airwaves in Portugal or Africa than in Sweden. A fraction of the time of the three radio staions is devoted to religious news (8-6 hours a week 1976/1977 or 2-3 percent of total broadcasting time). Time is allocated for religious broadcasts according to a scheme whereby denominations in Sweden are divided into four categories: (a) State Church, (b) Free Evangelicals, (c) Foreign

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State Churches – Catholic, Orthodox, and (d) cults and sects. The latter are such as the Mormons and the Jehovah's witnesses, the fastest growing groups in Sweden.

Medicine

In recent articles in *Private Practice* and *New Guard* I have debated the question whether Swedish medicine is as good as its reputation. I shall therefore avoid the tiresome repetition of statistics. Suffice to say, however, that no industrial nation today has so long a waiting list for badly needed medical care as does Sweden: one year for rheumatism treatment, two years for access to an eye clinic, three years for a gallstone operation, seven years for plastic surgery etc. In most cases there are two to three years' waiting at the state dental clinics (private dentists still exist).

What is the reason for such a catastrophic situation in a country which had none of its facilities destroyed by war, and which has but a minimal increase of the population from births (18,000 in one year)? There are three main reasons:

(1) Sweden has an impressive longevity among its citizens and this of course places a strain on existing facilities.

(2) But otherwise the problem is one which has grown out of the anti-private care ideology of the planners of Sweden's social welfare state. The private hospital, or other care facility, and private doctor legislated out of existence, or forced into early retirement due to taxation policies. For Sweden's eight million people there are today available but 1,300 practicing doctors and 54% of these are over 60 years old, showing the trends for the future. The privately-practicing physician and privately-owned care facility could do much to alleviate the present need had they been allowed to continue operation. Sweden has today one private hospital left with less than a hundred beds.

(3) The campaign against free enterprise in medical (and dental) care is waged in the name that "no one should profiteer from human suffering." (This was also the justification for nationalizing all drug outlets and most pharmaceutical industries). Yet it has been proved that private enterprise within the health sector can function more efficiently and at less cost to patients and taxpayers. Nineteen percent of Sweden's population is still treated privately, at half of the cost

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for a similar examination in a state-operated hospital clinic.

Psychology of the Welfare State

Medical care is, of course, only one aspect of the welfare state, and here again I wish to emphasize that I criticize the Swedish system today less because the economy is under state control, than because of the effects of the "welfare state" provisions on the individual Swedish citizen.

Swedish people traditionally had a reputation for self-reliance, hard work, pride in achievement, and their sense of independence. The one million Swedes who came to America between 1850-1900 (one fourth of the population) has proved that. That is why it is so pitiable to see the effect of socialism on the Swedes of today – perhaps epitomized by a woman who called a radio talk show to complain that the government was only paying her $5 an hour for taking care of her sick, elderly father.

Sweden's birth to womb or womb to tomb welfare society has an insidious, but viciously corroding effect on the moral character, and socialist materialism has created – and provided ideological justifications for – that most vicious of Swedish vices, envy. "I've paid for it – I've got it coming to me," is the idea. "They are getting aid, why should not I." The rapid increase in the utilization of welfare provisions and care facilities is not due to the Swedish people being more ill now than formerly, nor is it due to an increase in the population. It is due to a change in the character of the people resulting directly from state socialism.

The increase in the days of illness reported to the insurance bureau is in direct proportion to each change in the law which provides liberalization of the requirements. When the law was changed to allow for compensation from the first rather than the third day of illness, and without physician's signature, there was a corresponding jump in illness reported. An increase of four million days of illness was recorded 1975-1976, and the average time reported ill by the average Swede more than doubled between 1945 and 1975!

Moral Dimension

I have touched already on the moral cancer of the welfare state's umbrella of provisions from which no Swede can escape.

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I have seen young American friends whose concept of independence has been strong, being snared up into the system of social welfare provisions: rent subsidies of which the availability to all – regardless of age or whether married or "living together" – is advertised in buses.

It is sad to say (but this is confirmed by residents and visitors alike) that Sweden is now one of the most drab and boring societies in that part of the world we still call free. The verve, the challenge, the risks, the hope to succeed, or the motivating fear of failure is absent. From the welfare state's bureaucratic hydra comes the message, loud and clear, to the Swedish individual: "Don't worry. You won't be held accountable for your actions. If you get drunk and stay home from work – you'll be paid anyway. If you fail to provide productive work – they can't fire you. If your own acts of neglect leave the family without food – it will be provided by the state (which is always euphamistically called "society." If you want to drop out of school – there is a WPA training program waiting for you. If you want to drop out of the program – you can get a pension as 'unemployable' at the age of 20.

Economic realities are continually withheld from the population (except when they pay taxes, now averaging 50 percent in income tax and 20 percent excise tax on all goods and services).

The combination of a materialist socialist ideology – reinforced in its dogmatic presence by a four decades' long socialist hegemony – and the overweaning presence of the welfare state in all its multifaceted aspects, has brought about a collectivism which is as eroding to the individual as anywhere in the world. Foreign observers have time and time again observed the anti-individualist streak in Swedish life and its effect on the Swedish character. I regret to say that Roland Huntford's *The New Totalitarians* is not an exaggeration in its analysis of the effects of this materialism and collectivism on the Swedish character.

Impact on Family Life

Swedish people are among the loneliest in the world. On Saturday's whole pages appear in newspapers filled with "contact" advertisements, and the words "lonely" and "alone" are in more than half of them. The collectivistic philosophy

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which has been so prevalent in Sweden in most of this century has not only deemphasized the individual, but also denigrated the home and the traditional roles played by the members of the family. The replacement of the family by the collective (at work, in the club, in the political or union group) has left the individual Swede bereft of the natural moorings and true security provided by the most basic and vitally needed of the inherent parts of any society – the home.

Through an intentional policy – effected by a barrage of propaganda on radio and television and a discriminatory taxation policy – the woman (including mothers and housewives) are brought into the employment sector. The school curricula attempt the reversal of traditional sexual roles in work and activity. Employers are given bonuses for employing women in traditional male occupations. The policy is clear. First you break down and question the traditional interrelationships of father-mother-child in the home. Then you remove the mother from the home. Then you provide for the collective care of the child (as many as 46% are in pre-school care facilities in some communities) they you establish an activity-oriented, eight to eight, school system which acts as *a locus parentes*, a school in which social and political units are free to "activate and motivate."

Vandalism

In the *Point International* (an international newsweekly) is recently published an article dealing with the post-war phenomena of vandalism in Sweden, which with rising drug addiction is Sweden's most serious juvenile delinquency problem. Today such vandalism is a multimillion dollar reality, including the stoning of stained glass windows, and the breaking of marble crosses on graves in cemetaries. I reported at a meeting of the Association of Municipal Governments on this problem. The reasons proposed by the sociologists present for the vandalism was a mish-mash of fuzzy Luddite arguments about a resentment against private property due, they claimed, to industrial closures.

Hardly anyone pointed out that the answer to the problem of the young people was not to spend more hours at school, but more hours at home; not more money brought home by a working mother, but more hours spent at home with a mother

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who could make the young person feel loved and wanted. And the participants also forgot one other thing. In a society whose political ideas and economic structure restricts, increasingly, the right to private property, a pride in possession of something one has acquired and has title to in one's own right? (As Clarence Carson has so cogently observed: "Socialism inculcates disrespect for property, not in the abstract, perhaps, but in the concrete . . . Property held in common is frequently abused and neglected . . . . State-owned property can attract little more respect than the state that owns its. . . There is an essential nexus between property and man . . . Socialism breaks this connection. . . . Property is a vital extension of the man who owns it. . ." (*Freeman*, February 1978).

After more than four decades of a socialist-cum-welfare state philosophy whose very raison d'être is the aggrandizement of the state-directed collectives, the result in Sweden is an anti-individualism and anti-familism whose eroding effects gnaws at the very moral fiber of each Swedish person.

Yes, there is an absence of slums, there are provisions for the collective care of the elderly parents away from their children. There are provisions for the recreation of the pet dog, and the feeding of the wild birds. But when you come to Sweden to see what Marquis Childs once called "The Middle Way," look behind the facades of the newly built houses and the super-structures of the state (which now employs one fourth of Sweden's four million economically-active population). Come on a holiday week-end and see the 14 year old drunks in parks and doorways. Look at the sad evidence of the statistics which speak of the unprecedented rise in juvenile delinquency and drug addiction, and in lieu of that of alcohol, teenagers dying from glue sniffing, or the still more sad statistics which show that a third of all deaths of 20-25 year olds are due to suicide, which, after traffic accidents, is the biggest killer in the nation.

The Swedish social planners, bureaucrats, and politicians, who confuse the concepts of freedom and security, claim that complete security leads to freedom. In reality, Swedish society is a model which demonstrates that administered security and freedom are antithetical, and that socialism destroys above all else the vital will to live by their own efforts that alone gives dignity to men and women.

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Hoover Foundation Lecture at Strathclyde Business School, Scotland, April, 1978.

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PRIME-TIME DIPLOMACY

By Patricia A. Karl

Yesterday's front page foreign policy is today's instant history and tomorrow's stale news. The media have not only conditioned changes in the traditional methods and practices of diplomacy; the media have also become primary participants in contemporary diplomacy. As technology expands the range and capabilities of communication the media alter and redefine the traditional conventions of diplomacy in three ways: access to, volume of and dissemination of information.

Participating Diplomacy

We live in an age of what one could call participatory diplomacy. Today's diplomat shares his access to his own government and foreign sources of information with correspondents, cameramen, commentators, and with what Denis Stairs has called "alien bureaucratic interlopers." (1) In the United States, for example, sixty-one government departments and agencies are involved in what John Krizay calls "the Foreign Affairs Act." (2) In many instances the media and non-diplomatic personnel have access to groups or individuals (dissidents, opposition parties and terrorists) denied to the envoy or head of state. One recent restriction placed on the American diplomat, for example, was a Summer 1977 State Department directive to American Embassy personnel in Moscow that requires Embassy personnel to get a twenty-four hour advance approval from the ambassador before they meet with ordinary Soviet citizens. (3) Although this may meet security needs, it gives the media representatives an advantage over the professional diplomat.

As a result of the two-way access route between the media and sources, the media have become a channel of competition and communication within and among governments. Access, then, has altered diplomacy in several ways. First, the ability of the media to present foreign policy menus from a variety of sources has an impact on policy to the extent that alternative policies are grist for the public mill. However, the increase in alternatives guarantees mixed reviews for any policy. In foreign policy circles this is known as the "foulup factor." (4)

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The "foulup factor" may restrict the ability of a government to pursue a particular policy. The recent debates in the United States over the Panama Canal Treaties, SALT II, and an American policy toward Angola, South Africa, and Somalia and Ethiopia are current examples. The "foulup factor" may also confuse o antagonize domestic and foreign opinion. On his recent trip to Peking, for example, Sir Neil Cameron, Marshall of the British Royal Air Force, caused a row with both the Soviets and members of the British Labor Party when it was reported and publicized that he had told Chinese tank officers that the Soviet Union was the common enemy of Britain and China. (5) Finally, the "foulup factor" may lessen the appearance of support and consensus for a policy. Witness Western Europe's, especially West Germany's, response to the neutron bomb question.

The Press Leak

The access route between media and sources has also had an impact on policy to the extent the media have been used to preempt traditional diplomatic procedures. President Nixon found the press leak more expedient than the diplomatic note when he placed U.S. forces on alert in the Middle East War of 1973. (6) The media may also be used to signal shifts in policy. We are all familiar with the traditional trial balloon. Leonard Woodcock, the American envoy in Peking, for example, caused a mild murmor in diplomatic circles when he said that he was sure that the United States would seek full diplomatic relations with Peking and that the lack of normal relations was "founded on an obvious absurdity." The State Department, of course, said the views of Mr. Woodcock were his own. (7) The media have also been used to signal immediate or actual shifts in policy. The October 1, 1977 Joint U.S.-Soviet statement on the Middle East is a recent example of where the media played a role in the effort to promote a new public diplomacy. The Sadat trip to Israel is another example.

Unequal Media Access

The media also have an impact on diplomacy to the extent that a lack of media access or use may weaken the position of governments or groups who do not use the media. Harry

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Schwartz of *The New York Times* recently commented on the political situation between Quebec and English Canada. Schwartz observed that:

> The sympathies of the average American are going to be overwhelmingly on the side of the English speaking people, in part because the French speaking Canadians have not done a very good job of communicating their cause to us. (8)

The media have also altered the traditional conventions of diplomacy because the access route between media and sources means that the diplomat must compete to have his voice heard. As James Eayrs has noted this has resulted in an expansion of the diplomat's functions to include that of "public persuader" or "propagandist." (9) James W. Symington, former U.S. Chief of Protocol, relates the following conversation during the visit of Soviet Premier Kosygin to the United States in June 1967.

> 'What is a public relations advisor?' asked the Premier (Kosygin). Mr. Gromyko, (Soviet Foreign Minister), who had been silent up to that point, said quietly, 'He is like a foreign minister.' I laughed and (Soviet Ambassador) Dobrynin laughed, and that was it for laughter. (10)

The expansion of the diplomat's functions has altered diplomacy in two ways. First, the diplomat relies on the media channels of communications to inform his own government. John Kenneth Galbraith, former U.S. Ambassador to India, for example, tells us: "I found it easier to bring my views to bear on the President of the United States by way of *The Washington Post* and its New Delhi correspondent than by way of the State Department." The media have also become a main instrument for conducting diplomacy. During his Saigon tour of duty, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge commented, "The leak is the prerogative of the ambassador. It is one of my weapons for doing this job." (11)

The access route between media and sources is also altering diplomacy to the extent that the media are often the only guaranteed conduits of communication in policy differences within the foreign policy bureaucracy or between the foreign office and the head of state. For example, in late 1965, the U.S. State Department was anxious to persuade the Administration that the Pentagon bombing of targets in North

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Vietnam close to the border of the People's Republic of China should not be permitted. Unable to do so through official government channels it succeeded in stopping the bombing after its warning received front page attention in *The New York Times*. (12) Closer to home is the tale of William Porter, former U.S. Ambassador to Canada. Mr. Porter believed that Canadian-U.S. relations were deteriorating, that Canada was not receiving the proper American attention, and that his own advice was being ignored. He tried repeatedly in 1974 and 1975 to arrange a meeting between Prime Minister Trudeau and Presidents Nixon and Ford. After being rebuffed by Ottawa and Washington, Mr. Porter found a more receptive audience among Canadian journalists. His views, when published, caused a diplomatic tiff between Ottawa and Washington. (13) Hell hath no fury like that of an envoy ignored!

Results of Increased Volume of Public Information

The media are also altering and redefining diplomacy by their ability to transmit a volume of information. The access of and competition between media and sources has resulted in an increase in the quantity and quality of information available to governments, publics, and diplomats. The data deluge ranges from the trivial (who ate what at a diplomatic gathering) to the sophisticated descriptions of weapons and economic systems (the MX, the Cruise Missile, SDR's and Floating Snakes).

The media's transmission of the volume of information has resulted in the addition of new terminology to what Harold Nicolson called "diplomatic currency." Jargon is the new pet hobby. As a result, the diplomat has to master bureaucratese, government newsspeak, and journalese if he wants to understand and communicate with his own and foreign governments. Secondly, traditional diplomatic terminology is being devalued by the immediacy requirements of the media. Almost every issue today is of major significance, of crucial importance, or of crisis proportion. For the diplomat this penchant may decrease the ability to maintain an official definition of a given situation because there is no distinction of priorities among issues.

Thirdly, the volume of information has created specific problems for the diplomat in foreign post or home office. Kazuo Ogura, First Secretary of the Japanese Embassy in

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Washington, recently remarked that even a Japanese who spoke and read English "quite well" needed five or six hours to cover daily political reporting in the United States. John Krizay also tells us that the diplomat's fear of being "scooped" by the media has resulted in a proliferation of reports. Field assigned foreign service officers in the U.S. State Department, for example, produce some 350,000 reports each year. (14)

"The Tyranny of Technique"

The media are also redefining the traditional conventions of diplomacy with the control and dissemination of information. The control and dissemination of information, once the preserve of governments, is now shared with and sometimes dominated by the print and electronic media. Control and dissemination of information has had an impact on diplomacy in three ways. The first is what James Reston has called the "tyranny of technique." The selection and timing of events that receive coverage, the amount and type of news coverage (column space or air time, film footage, or first hand accounts), and whether or not the event is suitable to media coverage may determine what is and what is not given attention by publics and governments.

The tyranny of technique has three consequences. First, it may project a situation incompatible with the actual policy of a government. One recent example is the post 1968 North Vietnamese Tet Offensive coverage of the Vietnam War by the U.S. media. While the coverage gave the impression that U.S. participation in the war was winding down, American bombing did, in fact, increase. The tyranny of technique may also exaggerate or lessen the significance of an event. One can hardly transmit the significance and complexity of the SALT II in the same fashion as the televised Sadat trip to Israel or the Begin journey to Egypt. The tyranny of technique may also alter existing relations between states by surprising or annoying allies or adversaries. Two recent examples are the release of the Carter SALT II proposals prior to the arrival of Secretary of State Vance in Moscow to negotiate SALT II, and the Joint U.S.-Soviet Middle East statement on October 1, 1977.

Media Control over International Information

The control and dissemination of information also alters

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diplomacy to the extent that the multinational media extend the capability for what Andrew M. Scott called "informal penetration." The multinational media have an impact on diplomacy in three ways: the source, range and content of information. The Western news media dominate the flow of international information. As a result approximately two-thirds of all news about the Third World comes from these Western sources. This transborder information capability is creating concerns in many quarters because there is no clear distinction between news, information and propaganda, and the almost unlimited reach of the media place it beyond the control of national governments. The reaction in the Third World to the media's informal penetration capability has taken several forms: developmental journalism, the expulsion or restriction of foreign reporters, and the creation of regional news services.

On the international level the Third World states have also attempted to promote developmental journalism. In fact, even the United Nations has recently gone into the public relations (or propaganda) business as a result of these Third World pressures. In December 1977, for example, the General Assembly mandated the publicizing of its resolution on the rights of the Palestinian people through a $500,000 advertising campaign. In that same month the General Assembly also passed a resolution calling for a world wide radio campaign against South Africa. (15)

The Third World countries are not the only states concerned with the question of the role of the media. The present debate in Canada over the proposed Canadian Telecommications Act parallels the concept of developmental journalism. On one hand, the Canadian Federal Government is trying to maintain control of the media to promote national unity. On the other hand, the Quebec counter proposal is an attempt to protect French language and culture through control of the media in Quebec.

The communist countries have for years attempted to restrict the impact of the media in their countries by jamming radio broadcasts from the West. In a rather unique response to this jamming (what one official called a "civilized alternative to jamming"), the Board of International Broadcasting in the U.S. (which controls Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty) has

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offered the communist countries a "free-time proposal." This would allow the communist countries air time to respond to broadcasts they found objectionable. As of now there has been no official response to this proposal from the communist countries. (16)

Media Problems in the Third World

The control and dissemination of information by the media also has an impact on diplomacy because while communications technology has linked all corners of the globe, the discrepancy between the industrial and "developing" states in terms of their respective capabilities may exacerbate the gap between the developed and Third World countries.

Most small states and developing countries do not have the technical capability, the personnel resources, or the expertise to reproduce their own diplomatic and media machinery. In many instances these states rely on the developed countries for information and machinery. If one looks at the Third World it is obvious that much of the communication within and among Third World states is disjointed due to the lack of ethnic homogeneity in these newly created political states. In Africa, for example, Somalia is the only country with a single language. Cameroon is the only state with two languages. There are, in fact, over 2,000 ethnic groups in Africa, each with its own language. In 1975, when President Kenyatta announced that Swahili would replace English as the language of the Kenyan Parliament, he left many members of the Parliament literally speechless because many members did not speak Swahili. (17)

The control and dissemination of information and the problems associated with news, information and propaganda are exacerbated by the murky relationship between the media, diplomats, and spies. Diplomats, reporters and spies have one function in common, the gathering of information. One could cite numerous examples of current cases that demonstrate this tangled web between diplomats, reporters and spies. One of my favorite stories involves the Pentagon Papers. Evidently in the midst of the publication of the Pentagon Papers by *The New York Times* in 1971, a copy of the Papers was delivered to the Soviet Embassy. Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin, sensing a provocation, returned the papers to the State Depart-

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ment saying he preferred to read them in the newspapers! (18)

The Media as Catalysts and Participants

The coupling of media's technical capabilities, access to, and dissemination of information has altered the traditional methods and practitioners of diplomacy. It has also conditioned the ability of the media to become part of the events, issues, and procedures of diplomacy by allowing the media to participate in foreign policy as catalyst, conduit and censor.

The media act as a catalyst in diplomacy by utilizing the traditional government tools of communication (the press conference, press leaks and briefings). They have also created parallel instruments for their own participation (exclusive interviews, special reports, and documentaries). Unlike the diplomat in negotiations, the reporter always has time on his side. The media act as a catalyst by: coaching public opinion, setting the public foreign policy agenda, and by encouraging media events. (19)

The media also act as a catalyst by promoting or disrupting existing relations between states. In February 1977, a top level U.S. mission, headed by Secretary of State Vance, was enroute to Jordan for talks with King Hussein on the Middle East question. President Carter requested that *The Washington Post* delay a story of CIA payments to King Hussein for twenty-four hours in light of the Vance mission. The paper published the story on schedule. According to newspaper reports, President Carter told Congressional leaders that as a result of the story the meetings between Vance and Hussein were "mere formalities." (20)

While the media act as channels of competition and communication within and among governments, they also provide the main avenue of entrance into the political arena for groups and individuals previously excluded. Media recognition is an admittance ticket to participation on a global scale. The media, as conduit, for example, have given Soviet dissidents a measure of protection from their own governments and have become allies with them in a form of policy in exile. The media have also catapulted various terrorist organizations into the public realm and, some have argued, have actually encouraged terrorism as a form of mass communication through coverage of terrorist activities.

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Media Censorship

All governments attempt to restrict the flow of certain types of information, but media censorship may be independent of government or a reaction to it. Recent incidents of media censorship suggest that decisions made by the media permit them to participate in foreign policy to the extent that the selection and restriction of information published may influence government or public reactions. The media, like government, have the ability to make independent decisions on what is and what is not in the public or national interest. For example, Kenneth Lamb of the British Broadcasting Corporation informs us that much of the coverage of the war in Northern Ireland was censored by BBC officials during the sectarian strife following August 1969. (21)

The media have altered and redefined the traditional conventions and practitioners of diplomacy. It is also clear that the media have become primary participants in the "Foreign Affairs Act." The marriage of the media and diplomacy has produced rival offspring, however. While the diplomat's ability to influence policy is often diminished because of the two-way access route between the media and competing sources, his functions increase as he seeks to influence policy through the media. The media participate in diplomacy as they provide a forum for policy alternatives, act as a conduit of communication and competition, and make independent decisions regarding foreign policy issues. Public diplomacy as practiced by the media is an inevitable, if sometimes disruptive, activity in an open society. Any attempt to restrict or control media participation in policy debate, domestic or foreign, threatens to undermine a key tenent of the open society itself, i.e., the free market place of ideas. Public diplomacy, however, presents the diplomat or head of state with a strategy of chance. While declamatory diplomacy may be dignified, it is rarely delicate or discerning. It may disrupt the stability of existing relations and lessen the credibility of a diplomat or head of state without achieving the intended goal. It is a risky strategy because it leaves both allies and adversaries in doubt as to what the actual policy of a government will be on a given issue. While it commits the envoy or official to a specific policy public, it is hard to reverse it in the same fashion without loss of support, credibility or prestige. Public policy is the safeguard

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against secret diplomacy; public diplomacy may be an antidote or an overdose.

FOOTNOTES

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with Tony Shub, Board of International Broadcasting, May 23, 1978. The bill, H. R. 10963 is incorporated in the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1979, (H. R. 12598). H. R. 12598 has been approved by the House of Representatives and Senate and is now before a Conference Committee.

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BOOK REVIEWS

CARRINGTON, FRANK
Neither Cruel nor Unusual
Arlington House, New Rochelle, 233 pp., $8.95.

The ever-higher wave of violent crime that has swept the U.S.A. has in turn created a current of support for tough measures to combat it. Sentiment for the return of the death penalty has been particularly strong. Since *Furman v. Georgia* thirty-five states have reimposed it. Referenda in Illinois, Washington and California saw two-to-one majorities in its favor. Recent polls in New York are running 80% in favor.

To bolster the arguments for capital punishment, Frank Carrington, Executive Director of Americans for Effective Law Enforcement, has produced a book which marshalls enough facts to destroy the arguments of those who wish to abolish the death penalty. Whether dealing with the deterrent effect, the morality of the measure, the alternative of life-sentences, the salient facts are presented in a balanced and comprehensive manner, and they support capital punishment.

The volume is flawed by Carrington's heavy-handed prose style — not in the first, or even the second rank of literary artists — his arguments still triumph despite these shortcomings, and the result is an essential handbook on this controversial question of public policy.

Proponents of the death penalty's abolition often claim that crimes of passion constitute the majority of American murders. This is demonstrably false, says Carrington, citing data from New York City, and while we can feel sympathy for someone who suddenly snaps and commits mayhem, we can feel little compassion for those who kill viciously and cold-bloodedly in the commission of a felony.

"At the same time [of the murder] we thought it was kind of funny, really," said one particularly callous killer, "because well, everything we were really doing at the time we thought was funny . . . And I think one of us even commented on, 'Did you see the way he squirmed? Wasn't that funny?'."

It is said that vengeance does not bring back the dead and the deterrent factor of execution is practically nil, but the

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facts belie the latter contention. A 1970-1971 Los Angeles Police Department interrogation of those arrested for violent crimes, but who were either unarmed or did not use their weapon, revealed that a full 50% had been deterred by the perceived threat of the death penalty.

Yet some still contend that a mandatory life sentence would serve as an equally effective yet less brutal deterrent. To anyone knowing the lenient tendencies of today's court and parole systems such a suggestion is a joke. Even the most simple minded criminal knows better. Take, for example, the case of William Sweeney, who murdered the Police Chief of Bellevue, Iowa, during a break-in, and after only two years and nine months was released, completely "rehabilitated." Six months later he was returned to prison for robbery and parole violation.

Said one convicted murderer, in a Freudian slip, referring to the possibility for parole: "Life imprisonment is enough for anybody. You take seven years out of a man's life, that's a lot."

But because of the inadequacy of sentencing, vicious killers are loosed again on an unprotected public. In Philadelphia in the year 1972, fifteen persons already arrested once for murder were again collared for other slayings, and the phenomenon is not an isolated one.

There is the currently popular argument that the death penalty is discriminatory, that it is applied disproportionately to blacks and the poor. Between 50 and 60% of all death sentences and 57% of homicide arrests involve blacks. But it must also be noted that 50% of all murder victims are black.

"I realize," said Illinois State Senator Raymond Ewing, a black who voted for capital punishment in 1971, "that most of those who face the death penalty are poor and black and friendless. I also realize that most of their victims are poor and black and friendless and dead."

And finally comes the argument that it is better to set a hundred murderers free than to hang one innocent soul. If that were the ratio currently in practice, it would be a better bargain than the one we have, where all murderers go free or receive at most a light sentence. The last fully documented case of an innocent man going to the gallows was Jack O'Neill in 1898. The present system of review makes such a miscarriage of justice virtually impossible.

But while arguments rage, and while capital punishment

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remains to all effect abolished (it is still to be proven that Gary Gilmore was the start of a new trend and not a lonely exception), murder rates continue to climb – from 12,000 a year in 1968, when the Supreme Court temporarily voided the death penalty, to 20,000 annually at present. A 1974 study by Dr. Arnold Bennett of M. I. T. found that if homicide rates continue to accelerate at their current pace, a child born in the year 2000 in New York City would have a one-in-seventeen chance of being murdered. In Detroit it would be one-in-fourteen; in Washington one-in-sixteen; in Atlanta one-in-eleven.

Believing that it is more than obvious that the pendulum has swung too far, in *Neither Cruel Nor Unusual*, author Frank Carrington argues that the death penalty is both justified and effective, and portrays it as a sorely needed institution to redress the present imbalance in our criminal justice system.

D. Pietrusza

WANNISKI, J.
The Way The World Works: How Economies Fail and Succeed
Basic Books, 319 pp., $12.95

Since the stunning victory of California's Proposition 13, the U.S. taxpayers' revolt has gathered momentum with ever-increasing velocity. So far its support has derived mainly from a widespread reaction to the sting of payroll taxes and confiscatory real estate levies.

But now a fully reasoned argument in favor of tax-limitation has propitiously appeared. Its author has assembled a work which is forcefully argued, lucidly written, and overwhelming in its impact.

Wanniski bases his theory on the so-called Laffer Curve, an economic formula which rules that a tax rate results in the same amount of revenue at corresponding points – one high and one low – on the Curve's arc, because of the deleterious effect the steeper rate has on productivity and incentive.

It is this hypothesis, as first propounded by University of Southern California Economics Professor, Arthur B. Laffer, that already serves as the basis for a number of Congressional tax reform proposals such as the Kemp-Roth Bill, the Steiger capital-gains reduction amendment, and various measures introduced by Representative Philip Crane.

Opponents of such bills usually charge that they would

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increase the budget imbalance and fuel inflation. However, Laffer and Wanniski believe that an administration need not fear a loss of revenues if it cuts taxes to the correct point. The stimulation the economy receives can *more* than offset whatever revenue may be lost.

Following World War II a Republican Congress trimmed personal income tax rates with recovery soon ensuing. The same happened in the 1920's when Warren Harding's "Return to Normalcy" was more than a platitude but a kept pledge to reduce bloated war-time tax structures. Further cuts engineered by Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon turned a sluggish economy around and set off the phenomenal Coolidge Boom.

Silent Cal himself well understood the mechanics of the Laffer Curve and sometimes could wax eloquent on the subject. "The first object of taxation is to secure revenue." he once told the National Republican Club, "When the taxation of large incomes is approached with that in view, the problem is to find a rate which will produce the largest returns. Experience does not show that the higher rate produces a larger revenue. Experience is all the other way. . . .

The most recent example, of course, is the Kennedy Tax Cut of 1963. That broad-based, across-the-board slash (the top rate went from 91 to 70%; the lowest from 20 to 14%) eventually catapulted the Dow Jones Average over the 1,000 mark, reversed the nation's gold flow, cut inflation and unemployment and caused a growth of $320 in personal GNP over the next two years – as compared with rise of only $112 in Eisenhower's eight years.

"Most one-term Presidents," says Wanniski, "only have time for one truly disastrous decision, but Hoover squeezed in two. . . . The retroactive feature of the tax boost was Hoover's last gift to Roosevelt. As the March 15, 1933 deadline approached for payment of 1932 tax liabilities, taxpayers throughout the nation had to withdraw funds from the banks. The bank panic of 1933 was the result."

Then as now Republicans – despite their more conservative leanings – were reluctant to initiate or maintain low tax rates. It is in fact because of Eisenhower's opposition to the Reed tax bill of 1953 that the GOP has "steadily lost power as a party," says Wanniski.

The import of "The Way The World Works" cannot be

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underestimated. It is shockingly persuasive, a powerful weapon in the counter-attack on confiscatory taxation.

D. Pietrusza

FORDHAM, JIM AND ANDREA
The Assault on the Sexes
Arlington House, 479 pp., $9.95, 1977

Pre-Christian Europe, with its reverence for the ancestors and its emphasis upon the family, clan, and the continuity of the household from generation to generation, placed women on a high social level as the progenitors of the future generations. Protected by respect for her rights as an individual and her role as a mother, no free woman was submitted to public indignity either as an inferior being or as a "sex object." Only with the arrival of Judaeo-Christianity, and the introduction of oriental concepts of female inferiority, did these latter ideas enter the European scene. While Christianity became to some extent Europeanized – as with the high respect paid to Mary as "the mother of God" – Protestantism, especially, tended to subordinate women, because of its emphasis upon the Old Testament; and Protestant pastors frequently quoted the Old Testament to support the presumed inequality of the sexes. However, in more recent times, the changing conditions of modern western life have given rise to a challenge against these Old Testament influences, and the western world is today faced with a fierce debate over the role of women in society.

Instead of reviving the older European concepts of family unity, male-female reciprocity and female dignity, the contest has tended to be fought in Judaeo-Christian versus Marxist terms, with Marxist antagonism against the family as an "archaic and inequalitarian institution" discreetly hiding itself behind the onslaught against the orientalized concept of "women-as-sex-objects" inferiors, or women as "made-from-the-rib-of-man" inferiors.

Although written in a clearly partisan style, the Fordham's book is nevertheless moderately well researched and surveys feminist literature in a relatively comprehensive fashion. The authors come to the conclusion – detailing their views with substantial documentation – that the "unisex" movement, as they call it, is remarkably well-orchestrated, and has longer

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term political goals than simply the emancipation of women from the severities imposed upon them by historical Judaeo-Christian ideologies. They believe the main casualty of the prevailing conflict may well be the already ailing institution of the Western family system.

C. Gordon Jones

GANNON, EDMUND J.,
Sub-Saharan Africa: An Introduction
Council on American Affairs, Washington D.C., 186 pp., $5.00

In a diversion from the usual pattern of "in depth" single country or single topic monographs customarily published by the Council on American Affairs, author Edmund J. Gannon has in this 186 page handbook produced a valuable and up-to-date reference book surveying the social, economic and political conditions in thirty-eight Sub-Saharan African countries.

Based upon – and constantly quoting from – the U.S. State Department, *New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Washington Post* and other major news sources, Gannon provides a balanced pen-picture of the western, central and southern African states. In general, despite a wealth of mineral and agricultural resources in many of these countries, prosperity tends to be concentrated in the hands of a small elite of political leaders, often representing military dictatorships. The vast majority of African states either practice "one party" systems of government or else prohibit all non-governmental political activity. Changes of government and of succession are effected by military or palace revolutions.

Few African states represent unitary ethnic groups or "nations" in the true sense of the word (which implies a cultural as well as a political bond, to the extent that a nation is a people who believe themselves to share a common cultural, linguistical, historical and kinship heritage rather than simply constituting an agglomeration of individuals joined only by residence within the same politically defined boundaries). This latter constitutes Africa's foremost problem – the new political states created with the demise of colonial rule in Africa as a general rule lack any true sense of national unity. The result is that government becomes the prize of whichever disparate ethnic minority or majority is able to seize power – and the

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remaining ethnic groups are seldom permitted to participate equally in the economic, social and political benefits which should properly have accrued with the achievement of "nationhood."

C. Gordon Jones

SEARLE, G.R.
Eugenics and Politics in Britain 1900-1914
Noordhoff International Publishing, Leyden, 1976, 146 pages.

Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911), the distinguished naturalist, pioneer of statistics and inventor of the term "eugenics," defined "eugenics" as "the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations either physically or mentally."

In this book, author G. R. Searle deals with a subject which is of increasing significance to the modern world, because of the social decisions which are being forced upon law-makers by rapid advances in the genetic sciences. Although the title of Searle's book may attract few readers, those who choose to investigate further will rapidly comprehend the relevance of his chosen topic to the present decades. Many leading scholars in Great Britain during the period 1900-1914 were deeply committed to the eugenics, and but for the advent of World War II might well have succeeded in introducing substantial legislation in support of the eugenic cause – even though scientific knowledge at that time (or even in the 1930's when eugenics were popular in Germany) did not offer the same ability to achieve the desired results that modern genetic science has conferred on its practitioners.

Behind the rapid development of eugenics in Edwardian Britain lay, firstly, the Boer War scare about possible racial deterioration and, secondly, the desire to find a scientific refutation of the welfare legislation introduced by the Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith administrations. The infant subjects of biometry and genetics were researched for evidence that social life and individual character owed as much to heredity as to environmental factors. The origins of the British eugenics movement thus supply an important case study of the interaction between biology and social thought, and show how new scientific ideas can be transformed into material for political controversy.

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Today the same topics are resurfacing, under new names. Instead of eugenics we today read of Biosocial Studies, and debates about the political and social virtues of eugenics are carried on under the guise of Bioethics. While the political defeat of the eugenicists means that the term "experimental eugenics" can still be used in such a way as to imply opprobrium, courses are today being taught in the biology departments of our universities under the heading of "bio-ethics." This must clearly intrigue author G. R. Searle, who explains that eugenics "purports to be nothing less than the direct application of the laws of physical science" – a claim that "has been enhanced by distinguished biologists placing their professional reputations at its disposal."

C. E. Longdale

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NICARAGUA

AN ALLY UNDER SIEGE

The current national debate over the future of the Panama Canal has focused once again America's attention on the strategic importance of the Caribbean and Central American region.

I am pleased, therefore, that my colleague and friend, Senator Carl T. Curtis, has contributed an informative chapter to a new book entitled Nicaragua: An Ally Under Siege, which has just been published by the Council on American Affairs in Washington, D.C. (a non-profit, non-partisan, educational foundation).

The editor, Belden Bell (an Indiana attorney and former candidate for Congress) has brought together an able collection of experts on various facets of the relationship between this strategic Central American ally and the United States. The authors have all studied the controversial events in that country first-hand and they present fair and well-balanced accounts of what is really going on in Nicaragua.

They disagree on some points among themselves and they do not hesitate to point out that Nicaragua is not a perfect democracy. They do conclude, however, that Nicaragua has often been unfairly treated in the American press largely because there has not been that much information available about this small but potentially important country. Senator Curtis, for instance, repeats his well-known opposition to all foreign aid, including aid to Nicaragua. He does say, however, that he believes Nicaragua should not be discriminated against because it is an anti-Communist ally of the United States.

Especially in this time of renewed attention to our vital interests in this part of the world, I believe this book makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of Nicaragua; while I do not necessarily agree with all the conclusions presented here, I commend this study to the careful consideration of the American public.

Clifford P. Hansen
U.S. Senator

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This elaborately produced two-color book contains more than 200 photographs as well as 64 maps and charts, all of which clarify and enhance the text.

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